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ABSTRACT

An ethnographic study of language proficiency in the home and school languages of bilingual children was conducted. From a qualitative sociolinguistic perspective, language proficiency, the relation of linguistic performance to community language use and attitudes, and the correlation of the sociolinguistic findings on language repertoire with widely used current tests were investigated. Using microethnographic techniques, data were collected on six third-grade Hispanic children in classroom, home, and community settings. Information related to language use, language proficiency, and attitudes toward language, bilingualism, and bilingual education was obtained through a questionnaire. An ethnographic description of the relationship among community data, parents' data, and children's language proficiency is presented. Using the language repertoire collected, the congruency between actual language collected from the children and the test content in the Bilingual Syntax Measure and James Language Dominance Tests was analyzed. Finally, a functional analysis of questions and directives found in the children's repertoire in both Spanish and English was conducted. The survey instrument is appended. (Author/RW)

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Final Report

Bilingual Children's Home and School Language: An Ethnographic-Sociolinguistic Perspective

Flora V. Rodríguez-Brown and Lucía Elías-Olivares

University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

June, 1981

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Abstract

Although language proficiency is currently the single most important factor in determining student participation, language of instruction and program design in bilingual education, the concept of language proficiency has not adequately been defined, and this has resulted in multiple interpretations as to the real meaning of the concept. Tests of language proficiency currently used in bilingual education programs measure different aspects of language and as such the scores and levels assigned by these tests are usually unrelated. Furthermore, presently available tests are too narrow in scope and leave out a great deal of the children's actual communicative skills. Content validity in language proficiency tests is usually based on linguists', developmental psychologists' and/or educators' perceptions of what children do linguistically at different ages and/or levels of proficiency. There are no tests presently available developed from a construct based on what children can do linguistically. The present study is based on a qualitative sociolinguistic perspective. It deals with the following issues: 1) what third grade children at different levels of proficiency in both L1 and L2 can do linguistically, 2) how their linguistic performance relates to the language use and attitudes of the community at large, 3) how their language repertoire collected at home and school correlates and measures with widely used current tests, and 4) how analysis of children's language use in natural settings can bring new ideas about testing constructs which may be more relevant to children communicative skills and, as such, their need for bilingual education. Data from six Hispanic children attending a self-contained bilingual classroom in Waukegan, Illinois was collected through the use of microethnographic

techniques in different settings (classroom, home, and community). To complement the data a sociolinguistic study of the parents of the six children and a sample of the Hispanic community at large across three generations was conducted. Information related to language use, language proficiency and attitudes toward language, bilingualism and bilingual education was gathered through a questionnaire. A description of the relationship between the community data, the parents' data and the children's language proficiency is presented. Using the language repertoire collected, the congruency between the actual language collected from the children and the test content in the Bilingual Syntax Measure and James Language Dominance Tests was analyzed. Finally, a functional analysis of questions and directives found in the children's repertoire collected in formal and informal settings in Spanish and English was conducted. Adaptations of taxonomies previously developed by Ervin-Tripp (1977) were used for this analysis. The implications of the study for future research and for bilingual education are also discussed in this report.

Table Of Contents

Acknowledgements i

Abstract ii

Review Of The Literature 2

Research Questions 15

Methodology 16

The School System 16

Procedure For School Selection 17

School A 17

School B 19

School C 21

The School Selected For The Study 23

Subject Selection 24

Data Collection 27

Data Analysis 29

An Ethnographic Description Of The Community, The School And The Subjects 31

General Sociological Background Of The Community 31

Language Use And Language Proficiency 36

Attitudes Toward Languages And Language Varieties 41

The Target Children Parent Sample 46

The School, The Classroom, The Target Children, And Their Parents 50

The school 50

The classroom 50

The target children 51

Paula 53

Paula's Story Retelling 54

Ana 55

Ana's Story Retelling 55

Carmen 56

Carmen's Story Retelling 56

José 57

José's Story Retelling 58

Juanita 59

Juanita's Story Retelling 60

César 61

César's Story Retelling 61

The teacher 63

The teacher aide 64

Relationship Between Current Tests Used To Measure Language Proficiency And Children's Actual Knowledge Of Languge 64

Rationale And Problem 64

Test Constructs And Predictability Of Language Proficiency Levels 66

Congruency Between Some Tests Widely Used To Determine Language Proficiency And The Children's Actual Language Repertoire 70

The Use Of Questions And Directives By Eight Year Old Hispanic Children In Formal And Informal Settings 81

Use Of Questioning Strategies 81

Rationale and problem 81

Data and discussion 82

Frequency by language and proficiency 88

Formal contexts (classroom) 88

Types of activities 90

Informal contexts 97

Use Of Directives 99

Rationale and problem 99

Data and discussion 101

Implications For Educational Research 110

Conclusion 112

Bibliography 117

Footnotes 125

Appendix A 126

Appendix B 128

Figure 1: Classroom In School A 18

Figure 2: Classroom In School B 20

Figure 3: Classroom in School B 22

Figure 4: Floor Plan For School C 51

Figure 5: Subjects' Seating Arrangements 52

Figure 6: Paula's Physical Classroom Environment 53

Figure 7: Ana, Carmen and José's Physical Environment In The Classroom 57

Figure 8: Juanita's Physical Classroom Environment 61

Figure 9: César's Physical Classroom Environment 63

Table 1: Subject Potential Bank 25

Table 2: Final Sample Description 26

Table 3: Language Repertoire Per Subject, Language And Setting 30

Table 4: Socio-Economic Background Of Community Sample 33

Table 5: Community Self Report Of Language Choice Choice In Social Domains 38

Table 6: Self Report On Language Acquisition And Current Language Fluency 40

Table 7: Community Self Report Of Linguistic Competence 41

Table 8: Personal Evaluation Of English And Spanish Used 42

Table 9: Evaluation Of Spanish Spoken In Waukegan 42

Table 10: Attitudes Toward Spanish And Language Mixing 43

Table 11: Number Of Years Spanish Should Be Taught 44

Table 12: Attitudes Toward English And Spanish 45

Table 13: Definition Of Bilingual Education 45

Table 14: Children's Name And Proficiency Description 52

Table 15: Interpretation Of LAS Scores In Terms Of Levels 67

Table 16: Per Cent Of Responses According To Subtests 68

Table 17: List Of Structures Measured By Items In BSM 74

Table 18: Structures Measured By Items In The BSM And Their Occurrence in Children's Total Language Repertoire Collected, English Form 75

Table 19: Structures Measured By Items In The BSM And Their Occurrence In Children's Total Language Repertoire Collected, Spanish Form 76

Table 20: Structures Measured By Items In The BSM And Their Occurrence In Children's School Language Repertoire (English and Spanish Form) 78

Table 21: Structures Measured By Items In The BSM And Their Occurrence In Children's School Language Repertoire (English and Spanish Form) 80

Table 22: Repertoire Of Questions And Examples Of Communicative Intentions And Their Meaning 83

Table 23: Number And Percentage Of Questions Asked Per Child In The Classroom (English) 84

Table 24: Number And Percentage Of Questions Asked Per Child In The Classroom (Spanish) 85

Table 25: Number And Percentage Of Questions Asked Per Child In Informal Settings (English) 86

Table 26: Number And Percentage Of Questions Asked Per Child In Informal Settings (Spanish) 87

Table 27: Types Of Questions According To Types Of Activities In The Classroom (Spanish) 91

Table 28: Types Of Questions According To Types Of Activities In The Classroom (English) 92

Table 29: Types of Questions According To Types Of Activities In The Classroom (Total) 93

Table 30: Repertoire Of Directives And Examples Of Communicative Intentions And Their Reading 101

Table 31: Number And Percentage Of Directives Used By Child In The Classroom (English) 103

Table 32: Number And Percentage Of Directives Used By Child In The Classroom (Spanish) 104

Table 33: Number And Percentage Of Directives Used By Child In Informal Settings (English) 105

Table 34: Number And Percentage Of Directives Used By Child In Informal Settings (Spanish) 106

In 1974 the Supreme Court of the United States' opinion in the class suit Lau vs Nichols mandated that non-English-speaking (NES) children should be provided with a meaningful opportunity for education in public school settings. A set of guidelines called the Lau Remedies were prepared to bring school districts into compliance with the Lau decision; otherwise, noncompliance was at the risk of losing federal assistance.

Decisions are made in regard to who needs special help in learning English through bilingual education or other programs designed for this purpose, and/or language used for instruction in the classroom by testing children to determine their language proficiency. What is troublesome is that most instruments used to determine English language proficiency levels have not provided to be reliable or valid.

In general, the constructs of currently used tests are based on adult expectations of what children should be able to produce linguistically rather than on what children do. It is thought, that the dichotomy between what tests measure and what children do linguistically make the relationship between the content of tests and the child language repertoire non-congruent. As such, what tests measure becomes irrelevant or too narrow in scope to portray the actual richness of the natural language repertoire of children. In this manner, children are penalized for not producing what adults feel they should produce and, in turn, it is impossible to account for the real communicative competence of children.

Tests of language proficiency widely used in bilingual programs vary in the type of constructs used to measure proficiency. Some of them measure mainly vocabulary knowledge, others measure the use of

certain grammatical forms varying in complexity, still other tests use a more complete construct, where function as well as form of language are taken into account, to determine language proficiency. Evidence from research, Tucker (1977), Bowen (1977), Cummins (1979), Troike (1981), Rodríguez-Brown (1979) among others, indicates a need to look beyond language proficiency when determining the educational needs of non-English speaking children.

The purpose of this project is: 1) to describe characteristics of the community language use and attitudes and their relationships to the families of the target children in the study, 2) to give examples of ways in which current test instruments and actual children's language are non-congruent, 3) to specify the need for new language proficiency constructs which are based on what children can do linguistically and 4) to present data collected from children's natural language samples which may present some new ideas and/or direction in regard to language proficiency testing. New language proficiency constructs following this perspective should be more holistic in nature and take into account the richness in language use (form and function) found in children's natural language repertoires.

Review Of The Literature

Studies dealing with the languages used by bilingual children have generally focused exclusively on the individual speaker, and his/her capacity to form and comprehend sentences in the standard variety of one of the two languages (Lance, 1975; González, 1970). Language behavior in specific speech situations within a speech community has been the concern of more recent studies which have examined bilingual speech from a

different perspective (Elías-Olivares, 1976; McClure, 1977; Poplack, 1979; Zentella, 1978). These studies have taken as a starting point the speech community as a whole and have examined the structure of the total range of styles available to the speakers through the use of sociolinguistic and ethnographic methodologies. Basic concepts such as speech community, speech event, speech act, verbal repertoire and communicative competence underline the research and are fundamental to understanding how language is used in different settings (Hymes, 1974; Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1964). The totality of the linguistic varieties -- dialects, styles, registers or languages -- available to members of a speech community -- the home, the neighborhood, the school -- constitute their linguistic or verbal repertoire. In effect, studies by Hernández-Chávez, 1975; Labov, 1966; Peñalosa, 1980 have demonstrated that there are no single style speakers and that most speakers move along a continuum of linguistic varieties whose selection depends on sociolinguistic factors such as types of speech events, attitudes towards varieties, formality or informality of the speech situation, age, sex, education, etc.

If one agrees that speech is primarily social behavior, and that it should not be limited to the production of grammatical correct sentences, then one can argue as Hymes does that:

> A child from whom any and all of the grammatical sentences of a language might come with equal likelihood would be of course a social monster. Within the social matrix in which it acquires a system of grammar, a child acquires also a system of its use, regarding persons, places, purposes, other models of communication,

> etc. -- all the components of communicative events, together with attitudes and beliefs regarding them. There also develop patterns of the sequential use of language in conversation, address, standard routines, and the like. In such acquisition resides the child's sociolinguistic competence (or, more broadly, communicative competence), its ability to participate in its society as not only a speaking, but also a communicating member. What children so acquire, an integrated theory of sociolinguistc description must be able to describe. (Hymes, 1974, p. 75)

Communicative Competence involves both a knowledge of well formed grammatical sentences and of their appropriate use. Speakers who have developed sociolinguistic or communicative competence have developed abilities to judge when to speak, when not to, what to talk about, with whom, in what way, when and where. In addition to this, the speakers develop attitudes regarding the languages or varieties they use, and the communicative events.

How can we then describe the ability possessed by the speaker which helps him or her to communicate effectively in different settings and situations? We may attempt to arrive at this description by looking at various components of speech developed by Hymes (1971, 1972, 1974) -- setting, participants, topics, and purposes. The setting includes the relevant time and place in which speech occurs; the home, the neighborhood, the school playground, and the classroom. The participants are all those who take part in communicative events -- senders, receivers, and audience. Topic is a variable that can be defined as an explicit message on an

interaction, which has informational context. Purpose or end is a variable that can be defined as the goals or outcomes of a speech event: to command, insult, win over, convince, request information, put down, etc. The components of speech can be used as a guide to discover and describe speech behavior understood in terms of communicative competence (form and function) and creativity.

To study communicative competence one has to focus not only on form but also on function in language use, in order to find out how children use language to accomplish their goals. This may include, for example, units dealing with requests for information. How is information requested at home? Are requests made to parents similar to those made to siblings? How are questions directed to adults at home? How are questions directed to teachers in school? Are performatives, direct imperatives, statements, indirect questions used? Interpretation will be highly dependent upon the setting, the types of participants, the rights and obligations among the speakers, and the speakers' expectations in regard to the social situation. Are there special linguistic powers used to show appreciation in different situations? How does this vary from the school to the home?

Thus, a sociolinguistic study of communicative competence and linguistic proficiency within the framework of the ethnography of speaking, according to Hymes (1971, 1972, 1974) could deal with the following types of problems or questions:

(a) What is the set of linguistic varieties available to the speaker and the community? What are the meanings associated with these forms of speech?

(b) What are the contexts or situations for communication,

including speaking, as defined by the individual, group or community? What meanings are associated with these contexts? Are they the same or different?

In summary, what needs to be studied is the set of patterns which relate forms of speech and contexts of situations. In addition, the appropriate use of these patterns in different situations, according to rules of speaking shared by the speech community, should be examined.

Several qualitative research studies have provided an understanding of how language is used in the bilingual classroom (Erickson and Mohatt, 1977; Legarretta, 1975; Walcer and Rodríguez-Brown, 1978; Bruck, Schultz, and Rodríguez-Brown, 1977; Schultz, 1975). Unfortunately, these studies have not explored the relationship that may exist between the adult speech community and the student community.

Few researchers (Cummins, 1980; Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976) have addressed the issue of the importance of sociocultural and attitudinal factors in the academic performance of students learning a second language. According to the findings from these studies, a consideration of purely linguistic factors in determining the appropriate language instruction for these children is inadequate. Sociolinguistic and ethnographic data from the communities in which the children and their parents live may contribute to the success or failure of programs aimed at providing equal educational opportunities for all students.

Cummins (1980) and others have suggested that there may be a relationship between a student's poor performance in L2 (in school situations only) and the attitudes of the adult community towards the dominant group and towards their own identity. That is to say, those who hold a pattern of hostility

toward the dominant group and insecurity about their own language and culture tend to perform poorly, whereas those who have a strong sense of pride in their own linguistic and cultural background tend to be highly successful in learning in L2, and are more motivated to maintain their original language and succeed in school.

Studies that assess language usage in bilingual communities, and attempt to identify the maintenance or transfer status of Spanish in the community provide important information needed to understand the children's attitudes and to help formulate more realistic and appropriate language policies and educational programs. As Aguirre and Bixler-Márquez (1980) state, language assessment of the student population is normally restricted to an analysis of the child's first language, the language that he or she normally speaks, and the language most spoken at home. No information is gathered about the community's perceptions, needs and goals. Aguirre and Bixler-Márquez' study of a community in Northern Colorado indicates that their current bilingual education program follows the guidelines of the state's bilingual education policy, but does not take into account the attitudes and preferences of the community towards the maintenance and development of its linguistic and cultural heritage. This lack of correspondence between the school district's policies and the community's sociolinguistic aims "might explain why many of our bilingual education programs are really not interested in bilingualism, as much as in their service to a much larger educational process that is largely bureaucratic in nature" (Aguirre and Bixler-Márquez, 1980, p. 15).

In order to understand and evaluate language proficiency and levels of success in language learning, we must go beyond purely linguistic

studies because the educational attainment "is shaped by a complex set of variables that includes among other things demographic patterns, socio-economic status and class alignments, cultural values, community attitudes, community demands, school commitment, and community participation" (Solé, 1980, p. 140).

The basic unit for the analysis of the interaction of language and social setting is the communicative event (Hymes, 1974). The components of the communicative events which have been selected for the present study include: (1) the various kinds of participants and their sociological attributes; (2) the mode of communication: either verbal or written; (3) the languages shared by the participants; (4) the setting: home, neighborhood, classroom; (5) the intent or purpose held by the speakers; (6) the topic and comments; (7) the types of events: e.g., questions, commands, jokes.

Recent studies (not necessarily dealing with bilingual children) have not only examined language behavior in specific speech situations, but have also changed the unit of analysis from the sentence to speech acts and events (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Ervin-Tripp, 1977). These studies have dealt with discourse structure focusing on various other systematic levels such as turns of speaking, conversations, moves, utterances, or exchanges. These studies examine functional diversity in language. Their findings indicate that there is not always a direct correspondence between linguistic functions and structural forms. Questions, for example, are difficult to code because some questions can be interpreted as requests for information, others are imbedded imperatives, while still others are simply rhetorical (Ervin-Tripp, 1977). Thus,

the function of an interrogative, declarative or imperative sentence may be served by different forms. There is then a lack of correspondence between form and function because any given speech act can include several grammatical structures, and any given grammatical structure can be used to perform several communicative acts (Coulthard, 1977; Hymes, 1971).

Dore (1977) states that form alone cannot determine pragmatic function, because the hearer's interpretation of the speaker's communicative intent is dependent on various factors that function independently of the grammar. The first step in the formalization of the analysis of the functional use of speech according to Labov is to distinguish "what is being said from what is being done" (Labov, 1972, p. 191). This type of analysis must relate a smaller number of sentences written within a grammatical framework to a much larger set of actions accomplished with words.

The speech acts labeled as directives have also been studied among adults and children because they have a high frequency of usage, often lead to action, are easy to identify and are rich in structural variability (Ervin-Tripp, 1976). Speakers, and especially children demonstrate their communicative competence when they are able to identify directives which have other surface forms, such as an information question or a statement. In these cases, the speaker must have a knowledge of the function of the utterance in order to understand it as a request for action.

Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan (1977) employing Ervin-Tripp's classification scheme have examined aspects of the use of directives among black American children who were 7 to 12 years old. The investigation focused on (a) the social distribution of directive types used by children, and

(b) the relationship between particular directives and broader interactional goals. It was found that the children had acquired all of the conventional forms that directives may take in adult American English, that there were no differences in age with regard to the children's ability to use the various types of directives, and that they show an awareness of the social factors involved in the selection of the appropriate directive forms according to the type of social situation.

Issues such as language used for instruction in bilingual programs, entrance and exit criteria, grouping criteria, etc., have been dictated by the degree of English langage proficiency of the children attending these programs. For several years now researchers (Tucker, 1977; Bowen, 1977; Cummins, 1979; Rodríguez-Brown, 1979; Troike, 1981) have noted that language proficiency is but one aspect to be taken into account when determining the educational needs of non-English speaking children. Other aspects to be taken into account are cognitive development and home environment which according to Cummin's (1979) "interdependence" hypothesis interact with first language learning to facilitate or hamper second language learning and school achievement. Bowen (1977), Tucker (1977) and Troike (1981) suggest that there is enough data available to show that the language which is used as the medium of instruction should be determined according to socio-cultural rather than linguistic characteristics of the children. Rodríguez-Brown (1979) found that cognitive development and home environment are important factors to be taken into account when determining language to be used for reading instruction in bilingual classrooms.

Since language proficiency presently seems to be the factor which is most heavily emphasized in regard to decision making in bilingual programs, it seems necessary to examine actual test instruments, their validity and reliability, and particularly the language constructs upon which they are based to find out whether they are congruent with or measure aspects of language commonly found in children's natural language at home and at school.

In regard to bilingual education, there are no language assessment instruments available at present that accurately test the ability to function adequately in the educational process (academic achievement, language proficiency, etc). De Avila and Duncan (1976) examined 46 tests of language proficiency and dominance: 43 measured vocabulary range; 34 dealt with oral syntax comprehension; but only 9 were aimed at measuring functional uses of language. This is in spite of the fact that tests of phonology and grammar are not accurate predictors of effective participation in the classroom or communicative competence as shown by previous studies by Savignon (1972), Tucker (1974) and Upshure and Palmer (1974).

Language proficiency should be a measure of communicative competence as defined by Hymes (1972) and subsequently by Halliday (1973), where form as well as function of language are taken into account. Several researchers have tried to study whether constructs that focus on functional and/or formal aspects of language are best predictors of communicative competence.

Savignon (1972) studied the test performance of three different groups of students studying beginning French. Although the three groups received the same number of instructional hours, each group received an extra hour

of activity which differed from group to group (communicative skills, culture and language lab). End of course tests (one for grammatical competence, four for communcative competence) showed no significant difference in the grammatical competence test, but the group that received the extra hour of communicative competence did significantly better than the other two groups. The findings showed that emphasis on basic communicative skills does not interfere with language development, and that tests of communicative competence are better predictors of communicative competence than tests of grammatical competence.

Tucker (1974) did a study where he tested two groups of second language learners (one high and one low in grammatical skills) with a test of communicative competence and no significant difference in performance was found in the two groups. That is, the two groups could communicate equally well, despite their difference in scores on tests of grammatical competence. These findings again suggest that grammatical competence based tests are not good predictors of communicative competence.

Upshur and Palmer (1974) studied the linguistic accuracy of students who had learned English through formal classroom training. They found that linguistic accuracy (as measured by grammar related tests) was not a good predictor of their measured communicative abilities.

These three studies show, in general, how communicative competence tests are better predictors of language proficiency than tests of grammatical competence.

In regard to more holistic perspectives in communicative competence testing, integrative views of communicative competence have shown the need to evaluate form and function of language when determining levels of pro-

ficiency in second language learners. Carroll (1978) has distinguished three levels of proficiency (basic, intermediate and advanced). He defines these levels in terms of ten evaluation criteria which can be applied to test scoring procedures in integrative test instruments. The criteria are: size, complexity, range, speed, flexibility, accuracy, appropriateness, independence, repetition and hesitation. Morrow (1977) has suggested that communicative tasks can serve as integrative tests of the learner's communicative competence. Morrow (1977) provides a list of criteria which could be used to evaluate these types of tests. They are comprehensibility, appropriateness, grammatical accuracy and naturalness of response.

Functional language competence is defined as the underlying knowledge to make utterances in order to accomplish goals and to understand the utterances of others in terms of their goals (Shuy, 1977). Language proficiency cannot be described accurately unless it is assessed in communicative situations which occur naturally. This is needed in order to cover a wide range of communicative skills. In the case of school children, this should involve the child's level of facility across different speech events -- conversations with peers and siblings, formal interactions with teachers, etc., and his/her performance within various speech functions such as requesting and giving information, commanding, persuading, complaining, etc. (Hernández-Chávez, 1978).

With bilingual children, the specification of the context in which each or both languages are used is relevant because to say that children are dominant or more proficient in English or Spanish is insufficient. As Shuy points out, in order to begin to assess language abilities accurately one has to assess comparative language abilities in a broad number of con-

texts, specifying in detail where, under what circumstances, and to what extent each language is used, as well as the relationships among those contents (Shuy, 1977). Thus, is a bilingual child more dominant or more proficient in English at school?, at the neighborhood playground?, with her or his siblings? One has to consider, then, not only a quantitative dimension but a qualitative dimension as well. A holistic approach examines language use in specific situations, with different interlocutors and for different purposes. Furthermore, language variability should be seen as an asset rather than as a liability. Traditionally, and especially in educational circles, bilingual children are considered highly proficient in a language when that language resembles the one used by a monolingual speaker. However, as Lavandera (1978) points out, it is only in bilingually defined settings and situations when the bilingual's total verbal repertoire is fully used. In those settings, the speaker is able to activate all the varieties possess by him or her, mix them, and thus take advantage of his or her whole range of linguistic competencies.

Traditionally, testing situations which are monolingually defined tend to reduce the speaker's linguistic repertoire, which often results in a situation in which the speaker appears to be a non-assertive person, a characteristic which is interpreted negatively by the dominant society (Hymes, 1974; Lavandera, 1978; Phillips, 1972).

If one sustains the view that Hispanic bilinguals can better their social meanings to communicate effectively only by using their total linguistic repertoire, then one must take into account the whole linguistic continuum, including code-switching behavior.

The purpose of this study is to review qualitatively: a) the issue of congruency between what children produce linguistically in natural settings and what commonly used tests of language proficiency measure, b) the predictability, in terms of language proficiency levels, of a widely used test of language proficiency and each of its subtests and c) the alternative efforts in developing holistic constructs to measure language proficiency. The data for the study describe aspects of the communicative competence of children who are at different levels of proficiency in English and Spanish by focusing on the use of questions and commands in different settings. Furthermore, the relationship between sociolinguistic information gathered from the community and the children's linguistic proficiency is discussed.

Research Questions

The general purposes of the study are: a) to describe characteristics of the community language use and attitudes and their relationship to the families of the target children in the study, b) to determine the congruency between the language constructs used to measure language proficiency and the natural language repertoire of target children as collected in the different settings and c) to determine the functional use of questions and commands in the target children's speech and variations related to their different levels of proficiency.

Specifically, the study tries to explore answers to the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between the community language use and attitudes and the target children and their parents language use in different settings?

2. What does the data on the community language use tell us about the relationship between language used in the community and language used in the school setting?
3. What is the relationship between the natural language produced by the target children and what different tests of language proficiency measure? Are tests measuring what children know and produce? Is there a need for new test constructs?

To answer these questions, the following sections of the report will: a) present data collected from classroom observations which will clarify the subject and school selection process and lead to better knowledge of the characteristics of the classroom and children involved in the study; b) describe language use, patterns, and attitudes information collected through questionnaires and observations which will lead to an understanding of the Hispanic community at large and its relation to those of the family of the target children involved in the study; c) compare the content of current tests used to measure language proficiency and the actual children's language repertoire as collected at home and at school, so as to determine their congruency and/or predictability of levels of proficiency and d) analyze the use of questions and directives of the target children according to their proficiency levels in order to determine their feasibility, to be used as part of a communicative competence model to measure language proficiency based on what children can do linguistically.

Methodology

The School System

The Waukegan Community School District 60 is a middle class district with a population of 12,345 children. It is comprised of 17 elementary

schools, three junior high schools, two high schools and a large special education program.[1]

Eleven of the elementary schools, one junior high and one high school have bilingual programs. The bilingual program provides services to 826[2] children, mostly from Spanish speaking backgrounds (Mexican, Puerto Rican and Central and South American).

Procedure For School Selection

In choosing the children to be studied in this project, we started by visiting third grade bilingual programs in three different schools. These schools have a large enrollment of Hispanics.

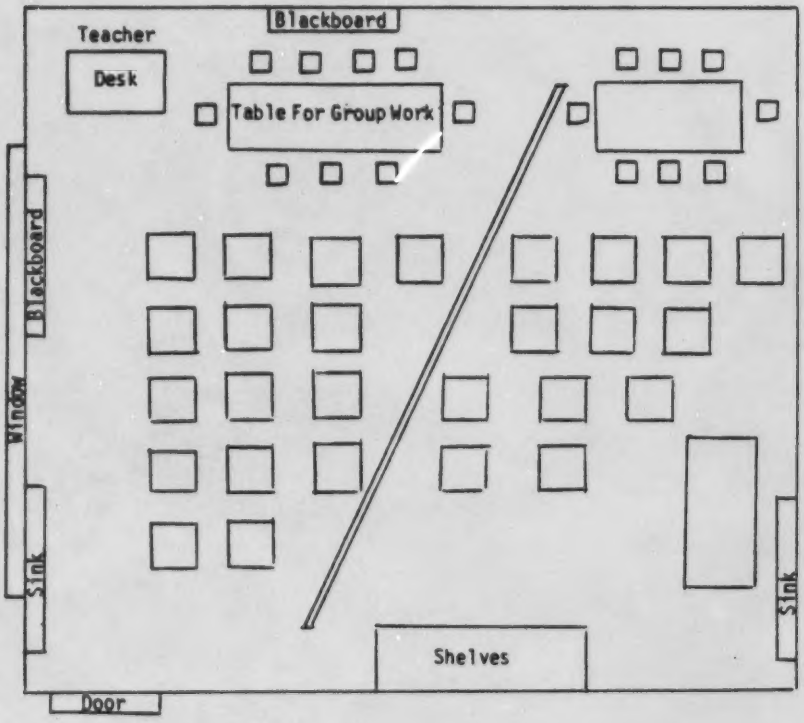
The researchers visited and observed each classroom for two days with the consent of the teachers. Information on the structure and organization of the classroom as well as the students was collected.

School A. The classroom observed in school A had 30 students attending second and third grade. There were 15 students in third grade. According to the teacher, who is an Anglo-American with a good command of Spanish, 11 of these students were proficient in Spanish (levels 4 and 5) but not as proficient in English. None of the students though were proficient in English (13 out of 15 were at least level 3, while those rated at level 4 were not eligible to participate in the program). The levels of proficiency used by the State of Illinois correlate highly with those described by Ed De Avila in the Language Assessment Scales (see Appendix A).

The classroom has a wood partition in the middle so as to divide second and third graders for learning purposes. The structural organization of the classroom appears in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Classroom in School A



Although the first and third grades were separated by a wood partition during the times that we visited, students were moved from one side to the other side for activities such as reading. Occasionally both 2nd and 3rd graders were included.

The content areas were covered mainly in English, although the bilingual aide was more dominant in Spanish and she had a very strong accent in English. Although the teacher in this class gave her consent to be observed, and was asked to teach as she would everyday, she appeared very uneasy with visitors and the children were tense.

This factor, plus the fact that most children in the class were of High Spanish -- Low English proficiency (according to the teacher report and our subsequent observations) influenced us to look for the children for our sample in the other two classrooms and, if possible, from only one classroom.

School B. The classroom observed in school B includes 14 third graders. In all, it has about 45 students attending grades 3, 4 and 6. This classroom had children who stayed there during the entire school day while others attended the bilingual classroom only for certain periods depending on their English proficiency and their reading level.

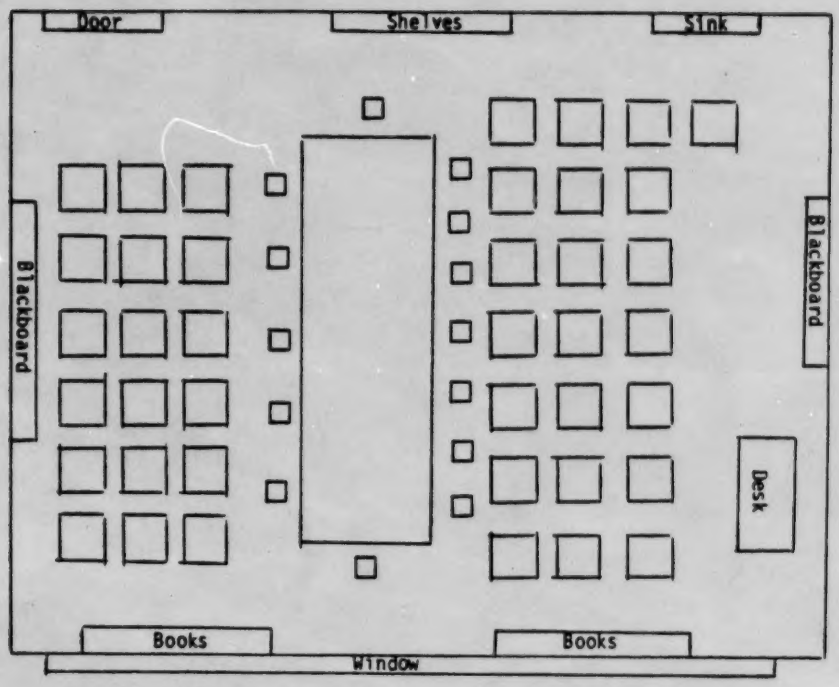
The composition of the third grade group was more heterogeneous than in school A. Eight of the children were high in English proficiency (level 4 or 5), six were reported by the teacher to have low proficiency in Spanish, and two were highly proficient in both Spanish and English (level 4 or 5). One child was reported having low proficiency in both languages (level 3), whereas children were reported as being highly proficient in Spanish (level 4 or 5) and low in English proficiency.

The physical organization (or structure) of this classroom is illustrated in Figure 2.

There was a teacher and a teacher aide in the classroom. Both of them were native speakers of Spanish with native-like command of English. Spanish and English were used for instruction. Usually the teacher aide handled activities in Spanish and the teacher did most of the English instruction. Basically the children spent most of the day either doing reading in Spanish and/or English and Math. Some of the children came to

Figure 2

Classroom in School B



the classroom to get assistance related to their work in the "regular" classroom.

In this class we were able to find most of the children needed for our sample. Only the child with no proficiency in English and high proficiency in Spanish could not be found. Children with no proficiency in English were very hard to find due to the fact that these observations and the data collection took place during the last two months of school.

After observations and following the teacher's estimation of the children's language proficiency in L1 and L2, several children, which could be chosen as subjects, were tested with the Language Assessment

Scales to determine their proficiency levels in L1 and L2. Subsequently, they were interviewed by the researchers in order to place them in proficiency levels. Their parents were also asked to assess the language proficiency of their children (L1 and L2). Several children were chosen as possible subjects. One reservation which we had about using children from this classroom was that there was a lot of mobility not only within the classroom but to other classrooms in the school. This would have made it harder to video tape a child for the duration of the project.

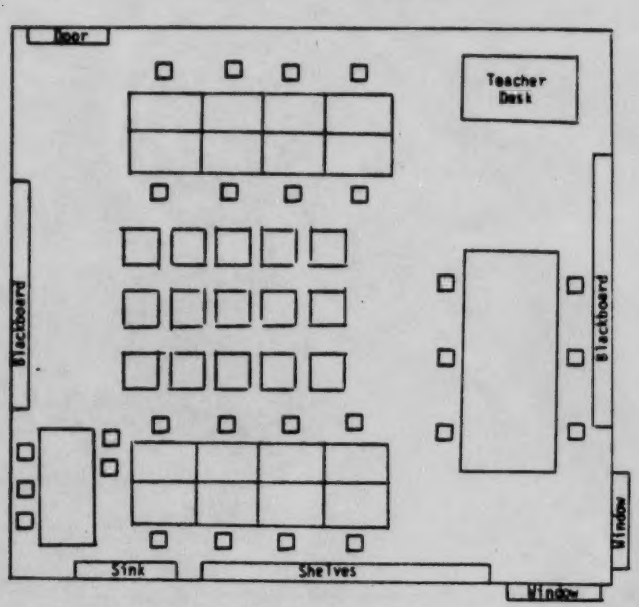
School C. The classroom observed in school C was a third grade self-contained bilingual classroom. It was unique in the district in that there were English speaking children (Anglo and Black), children from Hispanic backgrounds who were proficient in English, and Hispanic children with low proficiency in English who needed bilingual education. Instruction was given in both English and Spanish and the curriculum included Spanish instruction. All of the children, in general, had a good attitude toward languages and people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, as reflected by their desire to particpate in this classroom where they not only learn Spanish, but share experiences with children who were just learning English.

The teacher was a native speaker of English born in Latin America of U.S. American parents. She spoke Spanish well. The teacher aide was a native spaker of Spanish with an adequate knowledge of English. She had a definite preference for Spanish when talking to children in the classroom.

The physical organization of the classroom can be seen in Figure 3.

Figure 3

Classroom in School C



The teacher had the following weekly schedule which she would change when the need arose.

	M	Tu	W	Th	F
AM	Reading Spanish Reading (LEP group) Spelling	Reading Spanish Reading (LEP group) Library	Reading Spanish Reading (LEP group) Spanish	Reading Spanish Reading (LEP group)	Reading Spanish Reading (LEP group) Spanish Gym
PM	Reading Skills Math	Math Reading Health	Reading (LEP group) Math Health Reading Gym	Math Spelling Writing Reading (LEP group) Special Activity (popcorn)	Math Art

In general, reading instruction took place in the morning. The four children with low or no proficiency in English were sent out of the classroom to work with the teacher aide in reading in Spanish, English vocabulary development and worksheet assignments from the English reading series.

There were 24 students who stayed full time in this classroom. During the morning, about six more children joined the class for reading instruction.

Most children in the class were English speaking and could have been attending school in an all English setting. There were four children, two boys and two girls who had low proficiency in English. These children were highly proficient in Spanish, with the exception of one whose proficiency in both languages was considered to be low (level 3 or lower in each language), according to the four proficiency criteria used for subject selection. These criteria included the language proficiency ratings given by parents, teachers and researchers, as well as the results of the LAS test.

The School Selected For The Study

The researchers decided to conduct the study in School C after the three schools were visited, and children were chosen from two classrooms in different schools (B and C). The reasons for selecting all the children from the same school and classroom were as follows: a) the third grade classroom in School C included children who met all the different proficiency requirements in L1 and L2 needed for the study, b) the children attended the bilingual class during the whole school day, and c) there was willingness to cooperate on the part of the teacher, who also seemed to be more at ease with visitors in the classroom than other teachers.

The school population of School C reflects the different cultural and linguistic backgrounds of Waukegan. Of the 724 students, 47.5% are Latino,[3] 15.6% Black, and 36.9% Anglo. A large per cent of the students are bused from other area schools. There are 40 teachers in the school and the principal is Latino. The school has a large Title I component, as well as a bilingual program that spans through grades K-- 6 and includes nine teachers who are responsible for instruction 216 children.

Subject Selection

The purpose of the subject selection was to find children of Hispanic origin at each of six different levels of Spanish and English proficiencies.

1. High English Proficiency -- High Spanish Proficiency
2. High English Proficiency -- Low Spanish Proficiency
3. High English Proficiency -- No Spanish Proficiency
4. Low English Proficiency -- Low Spanish Proficiency
5. Low English Proficiency -- High Spanish Proficiency
6. No Engish Proficiency -- High Spanish Proficiency

The degrees of proficiency used are the ones described by De Avila (1975) in the Language Assessment Scales (LAS). The descriptions appear in Appendix A and apply to both Spanish and English.

The investigators visited and observed children in three bilingual classes to select the subjects. Each classroom was observed for at least two days. Field notes were collected describing such aspects as focusing on program structure, teacher cooperation, and physical environment in their classroom.

Next, teachers were asked to report their perception of language proficiency levels and behavior, etc., of children who seemed to be good

targets for our study. These children were tested with the LAS to determine their level of language proficiency in both Spanish and English. Subsequently they were interviewed by the experimenters and assigned to proficiency levels (in L1 and L2) and the parents were asked for their perception of their child's proficiency in L1 and L2. In all, there were four criteria for subject selection: teachers, parents and experimenters rating of children's language proficiency and scores on the LAS test. Based on this criteria, 14 children were selected as potential subjects:

Table 1
Subject Potential Bank

		Total	Boys	Girls
High English (Level 4 or 5)	High Spanish (Level 4 or 5)	3	1	2
High English (Level 4 or 5)	Low Spanish (Level 2 or 3)	5	3	2
High English (Level 4 or 5)	No Spanish (Level 1)	1	-	1
Non English (Level 1)	High Spanish (Level 4 or 5)	2	1	1
Low English (Level 2 or 3)	High Spanish (Level 4 or 5)	2	1	1
Low English (Level 2 or 3)	Low Spanish (Level 2 or 3)	1	1	-

(Note: The Non English--High Spanish girl is two years older than the rest of the group.)

Data Collection

After the researchers visited and observed the classroom, they became familiar with the children and visited their homes. Field notes were collected at these times to complement the data collected from video tapes.

Within the next two weeks after the observation period, each child was video taped for one whole day of school. The target child wore a lapel microphone during the taping session. A wireless microphone was tried at first but problems with frequency interruption made it impossible to use for data collection purposes. A stationary camera (Sony AVC 3250) was used for data collection. The camera was focussed on the target child and the children around him/her.

Subsequently, children were video taped for at least one hour at home playing with other children and also video taped at a picnic for two hours where all six children interacted. This video taping was done with a Sony AVC 3250 stationary camera. Several audio recorders were used to collect data in areas where the camera was not recording. Furthermore, the parents were audio-recorded during the interview in order to collect some parent language data which will be discussed later in this report.

Parents of the subjects as well as about 25 people in the Hispanic community each from three different age groups (84 people in total sample) were chosen randomly and interviewed in regard to their language use patterns and their linguistic attitudes.

Data on language use patterns, and attitudes towards languages and bilingual education were collected from the parent sample and the 84 members of the subject's home community. Data were collected using

survey instruments, audio-taping, and field observations. Observations were made during visits to the community by the researchers and the community liaison who is a native of the community studied and a teacher aide at the Waukegan Public Schools. Before the parents were interviewed, the objectives of the project were explained to them. The interviews, which took place in the subjects' homes and were tape recorded, were conducted in English or Spanish according to the interviewee's language preference.

The Family and Community Language Survey Questionnaire developed for this study (see Appendix B) is aimed at gathering data on sociological aspects, language use patterns, linguistic competence, and attitudes toward languages and bilingual education. In developing this questionnaire, the principal investigators consulted several other data gathering instruments which were designed for use with bilingual populations i.e., Fishman et al. (1971) and Ornstein (1972). The former surveyed Puerto Ricans in New York, while the latter dealt with Mexican populations in Texas.

After interviewing the parents of the target children, the questionnaire was administered orally to 84 residents of the community. This randomly selected sample included men and women of varying ages, most of whom had children or siblings attending bilingual programs in Waukegan. Chi square tests were carried out to determine significance levels for each one of the variables in the questionnarie in relation to age and/or sex.

All of the respondents were extremely cooperative, gave extended answers in a majority of the cases, and made independent comments on some of the issues involved in the questions. This allowed us to gather still more linguistic and attitudinal data.

Data Analysis

A transcription code system was developed to analyze the video taped data. The information coded included the following:

1. Location of interaction or utterances (in the case of solliloquia)
2. Speaker: TC = target child, AC = another child, T = teacher, Exp = experimenter
3. Transcription (only conversations in which the target child was involved were transcribed)
4. Context (information relative to the lesson, activity, etc.)
5. Immediate situation (a brief description of what is happening between people involved in the interaction)
6. Translation (if in Spanish)

The transcription system was explained to several assistants who transcribed the tapes. An experimenter was available to clear up any ambiguity, especially at the beginning of this data analysis. Subsequently, a different assistant checked the same tape to assure the reliability and validity of the information.

A system to code target children interactions was designed, with the same information from the transcripts. An interaction was defined as a series of conversational turns by two or more speakers around a common activity or topic which are temporally related. A listing of these interactions per child constitute the language repertoire for the study.

This repertoire was quantified according to the number of utterances. Utterances are defined as units of speech (sentences, phrases, words) which express an idea and/or intent. Spanish and English utterances for each child have been counted. It is important to clarify that the number of

For further analysis, questions and commands which appeared in the interactions were studied according to a specific classification developed by Ervin-Tripp (1977). These speech acts were chosen because of their high frequency of occurrence among children and their variation according to social factors. Subsequently, questions and commands which appeared in the different categories were classified by the classroom context in which they occurred (i.e., during Math, Reading activities, etc.).

The questionnaires given to parents and other members of the community were coded by hand and subsequently placed in a computer disk for further analysis. Frequency and breakdown per age group and sex were calculated using the SPSS system (Nie, et al., 1975). For each variable, a Chi Square significant test was carried out to determine significant differences among the age groups and by sex. The results of this analysis will be discussed later.

An Ethnographic Description Of The Community, The School And The Subjects

General Sociological Background Of The Community

Waukegan is a small city of about 67,300[4] inhabitants which is located 40 miles north of Chicago, Illinois. The population of Waukegan, which had been predominantly Anglo-American in the past has received a steady influx of Hispanics in the last ten years, who come to the area to raise their children in an urban environment that still has the characteristics of a small town. Today 13.6% of Waukegan's population is Hispanic. The data show that this population is different from those which have been the subjects of other studies in Texas (Ornstein, 1975; Amastae, 1978; Elías-

Olivares, 1976), New Mexico (Hudson-Edwards and Bills, 1980; Ortiz, 1981), California (Sánchez, 1978), and New York (Attinasi, 1979) in regard to patterns of migration, socio-economic status, and educational attainment. These patterns affect the language proficiency of the subjects, their language patterns in terms of language maintenance and shift, and their attitudes toward English and Spanish, toward varieties of those languages, and bilingual education. We assume that the community's attitude will, in turn, affect the children's attitudes toward both languages, as well as the children's language proficiency.

The sample may be characterized as follows: Of the 84 people surveyed, 54.7% were parents of students attending bilingual programs in the city; 36.9% were junior or high school students, and 8.4% were relatives or other people related to the students as indicated in Table 4A.

There were three age groups. Those who were 10-20 years old, 41.7%; those who were between 21 and 40 years old, 32.1%; and those who were 41 years of age or older, 26.2%. These age groupings will be referred to as group 1, group 2 and group 3 hereafter as indicated in Table 4B. There were 56.3% females and 43.8% males.

Of the total sample, only 14.3% of the subjects were born on the United States mainland. Sixty-six per cent were born in Mexico, 16.7% in Puerto Rico and 2.4% in other Latin American countries. This is the first sample studied in the United States which shows such a great number of foreign born subjects (85.8%). A breakdown by age demonstrates that only 14.8% of those in group 2 were born in the United States, where as 85.2% were foreign-born, ($P < .01$). Twenty-two per cent of the "youth" sample, group 1, were born in the United States while seventy-six per cent were

Table 4

Socio-Economic Background Of Community Sample

A.

Respondents	N	%
Father	18	21.4
Mother	28	33.3
Grandparent	1	1.2
Relative of Student	4	4.8
Grade School Student	9	10.7
High School Student	22	26.2
Other	2	2.4

B.

Age	Group	N	%
10 - 20 years old	1	35	41.7
21 - 40 years old	2	27	32.1
41+ years old	3	23	26.2

C.

Sex	N	%
Female	45	56.3
Male	35	43.8

D.

Place of Birth	N	%
United States	12	14.3
Mexico	56	66.7
Puerto Rico	14	16.7
Latin America	2	2.4

E.

Number of Years in the U.S.	N	%
6 months--2 years	13	15.5
2.1 months--5 years	34	40.5
5.1 months--10 years	7	8.3
10.1 months--20 years	20	23.8
All my life	10	11.9

F.

Generation of Residence in the U.S.	N	%
First Generation	33	39.3
Second Generation	36	42.9
Third Generation	9	10.7
Fourth Generation	6	7.1

G.

Number of Children in Family	N	%
1 or 2	11	17.7
3 - 4	14	22.6
5 - 6	18	29.0
More than 7	19	30.6

H.

Family Income	N	%
Less than $4,000	6	8.8
$4,000--$8,000	13	19.1
$10,000--$14,999	3	4.4
$15,000--$19,999	18	26.5
$20,000 or more	18	26.5
Don't Know	10	14.7

I.

Occupation	N	%
Unemployed	8	9.8
Housewife	4	4.9
Laborer	16	19.5
Maintenance Worker	11	13.4
Clerical	1	1.2
Teacher Aide	1	1.2
Professional	2	2.4
Other (Student)	39	47.6

J.

Years of Schooling	N	%
None	7	8.3
Elementary School	29	34.5
Junior High School	27	32.1
High School	17	20.2
College	4	4.8

K.

Descent or Origin	N	%
Chicano	1	1.2
Mexicano	52	61.9
Puertorriqueño	18	21.4
Mexican-American	8	9.5
Latino	3	3.6
Other	2	2.4

born outside this country, ($P < .001$). It appears that this is not only a predominantly foreign-born population, but that their residential patterns are also different from the populations previously mentioned. Table 5E shows that the majority of our sample (56%) has lived in the United States for only a relatively brief period of between six months and

five years; 8.3% of the sample has lived in this country for the last ten years. Only 11.9% of the total sample have lived in Waukegan all of their lives. Furthermore, most of the respondents have come directly from Mexico (66.7%) or Puerto Rico (16.7%) rather than from other parts of the United States, ($P < .01$).

Thus, one can see from Table 5F that the majority of those interviewed are second generation residents (42.9%), whereas 39.3% belong to the first generation as indicated in Table 5F. For the purpose of this study first generation was defined as one who is foreign born but has taken up residence in the United States. Second generation refers to the first family member who was born in the United States. A breakdown by age indicates that the majority of group 1, those who are 10 to 20 years old, are second generation residents, whereas the majority of those who are 40 years of age or older are first generation residents.

Studies dealing with Hispanics in the United States point out that this group, and especially those of Mexican origin, are at the lower end of the socio-economic scale (Weinberg, 1977; Sánchez, 1978). According to the Census Bureau 1980, the median income for Hispanic families is $14,023 compared to $21,023 median annual income for all U.S. families. These socio-economic patterns have not led to increased mobility for the Hispanic population, and this fact has affected their language performance skills. Hispanics tend to live in barrios without many opportunities for economic advancement, and thus are unable to move out. As a direct consequence of this segregated housing and employment pattern, Hispanics tend to maintain their Spanish proficiency and be hindered in their acquisition of English.

Our present survey paints a somewhat different picture. As can be seen in Table 5H the population studied has a higher level of income and has completed more years of education than the samples surveyed in other studies. Table 4H also shows that 53% of our subjects earn more than $15,000 a year.

The difference in income may be due to the fact that in many of these households both husband and wife are employed in factories located in the area and consequently, have a higher joint income than those cited in Census figures.

It should be emphasized, however, that this is a joint income which must be usually shared by large families. In effect, the majority of those surveyed have more than five children (59.6%), with 30.6% having more than seven children as seen in Table 4G. The majority of those who work have jobs in factories, where they work as laborers or maintenance workers as shown in Table 4I.

Our sample also differs in regard to educational backgrounds: 91.7% have completed elementary school, 57.1% have finished junior high school, and 25% are high school graduates, ($P < .001$). (Only 8.3% are illiterate.) The youngest group is the most educated. Fifty-three per cent of those who are younger than 20 years of age have finished high school, whereas none of those who are over 40 years of age has a high school diploma.

Among our sample, women have had more years of schooling than men. Eleven per cent of the men are illiterate as compared to 6.7% of the women. At the other end of the scale, seventeen per cent of the men have finished high school, whereas 22.2% of the women have a high school diploma.

With regard to the way the respondents perceive their descent or origin, the great majority of those of Mexican ancestry rejected the label "Chicano" or "Mexican-American" in favor of the classification of "Mexicano," which indicates their loyalty to the country they left in the pursuit of a better life for their families.

Language Use And Language Proficiency

As was the case with the previously mentioned studies, we examined language use in six different domains of social interaction (Fishman, 1971): home, neighborhood, work, religion, inner-self, and media. We have thus used a number of behaviorally separate domains which are derived from discontinuous social situations and are commonly associated with a particular language or a particular variety of that language. Fishmen (1971) has proposed (based on Ferguson's work) that certain languages or language varieties are used in certain domains; he has postulated a compartmentalized sociolinguistic situation called diglossia. For example, in such a situation the home domain would be one in which Spanish is used predominantly, whereas English would be the major language in the work or school domain.

According to studies done on language maintenance and shift in the Southwest (Amastae, 1978; Ornstein, 1978; Ortiz, 1981). the use of Spanish and English is divided between two major social functions. Spanish is used for most intragroup communication while English is primarily utilized as the out-group language for purposes of intercultural communication with the dominant society. It is important to observe, however, that in most of these studies it was found that even in the home domain the influence of English was evident. It appears that the influence of English in the family setting occurs mainly

through sibling interaction. As Ortiz (1981) noticed in the community of Arroyo Seco in New Mexico, most bilingual communities of the United States seem to be undergoing a process of sociolinguistic readjustment by attempting to consolidate and reconcile assignments, conflicts and relationships between Spanish and English.

In communities which are closer to the Mexican border, there seems to be a tenuous and at times uncertain diglossic relationship (Amastae, 1978; Limón, 1981). As such, each language is used in specific domains of interaction. There are other communities, such as East Harlem in New York (Attinasi, 1979), where the language environment consists of the use of both Spanish and English, rather than one or the other. Spanish and English are seen as being equally appropriate in most domains. Both languages are used in daily social interaction, each with its own structural integrity (Attinasi, 1979).

Is there a functional separation of the two languages in any of the contexts (home to media) observed and reported in Waukegan? First of all, one must remember that we are dealing with a very recent migration and thus, Spanish still fulfills most of the community's communicative needs. As is seen in Table 5, interaction with adults (parents, grandparents and spouses) is conducted primarily in Spanish. This pattern diminishes when the subjects alternate with their children and friends. In those situations a higher percentage of a combination of both languages can be observed. When adults interact in the neighborhood (talking to other neighbors and shopping), respondents report that they choose with equal frequency to speak in Spanish only, or in English, or in a combination of both languages. This is done despite the fact that the majority of

Table 5

COMMUNITY SELF REPORT OF LANGUAGE CHOICE IN SOCIAL DOMAINS

DOMAINS	MEAN	% OF RESPONDENTS USING					
		ALL SPANISH	MOSTLY SPANISH	½ SPANISH/½ ENGLISH	MOSTLY ENGLISH	ALL ENGLISH	NOT APPLICABLE
Home, To Children	1.57	39.8	3.6	24.1	6.0	2.4	24.1
Home, From Children	2.01	37.0	3.7	23.5	8.6	9.9	17.3
Home, To Parents	1.47	47.0	4.8	16.9	2.4	6.0	22.9
Home, From Parents	1.32	51.8	7.2	9.6	3.6	4.8	22.9
Home, To Spouse	0.93	39.7	3.8	12.8	---	1.3	42.3
Home, To Friends	2.18	42.9	7.1	33.3	4.8	8.3	3.6
Neighborhood, To Neighbors	2.73	35.4	6.1	20.7	13.4	22.0	2.4
Neighborhood, Shopping	2.89	28.6	6.0	31.0	9.5	22.6	2.4
Work, To Friends	2.01	16.0	2.5	14.8	4.9	18.5	43.2
Work, To Superiors	1.78	13.8	2.5	5.0	5.0	28.8	45.0
Church	1.92	60.2	6.0	19.3	---	12.0	2.4
Praying	1.81	69.9	4.8	7.2	3.6	13.3	1.2
Dreaming	2.00	60.2	3.6	20.5	6.0	9.6	----
Listening To Radio	2.77	26.8	1.2	43.9	7.3	17.1	3.7
Watching TV	3.50	7.2	3.6	42.2	21.7	24.1	1.2
Movies	2.98	15.5	---	31.0	8.3	31.0	14.3
Read Papers	2.87	23.8	1.2	19.0	7.1	34.5	14.3
Read Books	2.60	37.3	2.4	33.7	6.0	18.1	2.4
Read Magazines	2.63	33.7	4.8	22.9	8.4	22.0	7.2

their shopping is done at neighborhood stores which sell Hispanic products and which are managed by Spanish-speaking or bilingual employees.

When one examines the question of language choice among the surveyed population, it becomes clear that the home domain is still clearly dominated by Spanish even among those who are younger than 20 years of age. This situation also becomes evident in other more intimate domains such as that of religion and other inner-speech situations. In other social domains

such as the mass media, it is obvious that the alternation between Spanish and English can be related to generational differences. With regard to Spanish radio, for example, 43.9% of the sample reports alternating between English and Spanish radio, and 24.4% says that they mostly listen to the radio in English, ($P < .005$). A breakdown by ages, however, demonstrate that only 14.3% of group 1 listens to the radio in Spanish, whereas 54.5% of group 3 listen to the radio primarily in Spanish, ($P < .005$).

In general, then, as language proficiency in English increases, the use of Spanish in the media domain diminishes, especially in group 1 (those who are younger than 20 years of age). However, it needs to be pointed out that Spanish language retention in this domain is still higher than that reported by other studies.

With regard to the preferred language for reading books, 39.7% report reading books in Spanish, of which the majority came from group 3, ($P < .05$) It is interesting to observe that 47.1% of the youngest group reports a high percentage of Spanish used. This may be due to the fact that many adolescents and young people, especially women, are very fond of love stories in Spanish which come from Mexico and are sold at neighborhood stores. In effect, most of their practice in reading comes from this type of reading material which is much more informal than classroom reading material.

The results of the survey indicate that Spanish is the mother tongue of the great majority of the respondents. All the members of the three age groups spoke Spanish first. Seventy-six point five per cent of those in group 1 (10 - 20 years old) claim to have spoken Spanish as their first language, ($P < .05$). Although it has been shown for other populations that proficiency in Spanish -- especially in reading and writing -- decreases as proficiency in English increases, the percentage of those who are

proficient in Spanish is higher than in previous studies across all age groups. The "native" level of proficiency classification decreases for Spanish as we get into reading and writing skills.

With regard to current language proficiency in Spanish (Table 6),

Table 6

SELF REPORT ON LANGUAGE ACQUISITION
AND CURRENT LANGUAGE FLUENCY

	SPANISH %	BOTH %	ENGLISH %
FIRST LANGUAGE UNDERSTOOD	88.0	4.8	7.2
FIRST LANGUAGE SPOKEN	86.6	3.7	9.8
FIRST LANGUAGE READ	81.9	2.4	15.7
FIRST LANGUAGE WRITTEN	81.7	1.2	17.1
LANGUAGE OF MOST FLUENCY	62.7	25.3	12.0

one still sees that a high percentage of the respondents (62.7%) say that Spanish is the language in which they are most fluent. Ninety-five point five per cent of those who are older than 40 reported Spanish as the language in which they were most fluent, as compared to 59.3% of those who are 20-40 years old, and 44.1% of the 10-20 year old group ($P < .02$). Forty-one point two per cent of the youngest respondents, Group 1, report fluency in both languages, and 14.7% report that English is the language in which they are most fluent, ($P < .005$).

Table 7 shows the community's self report of English and Spanish linguistic competence. It can be seen here that with regard to the whole community very few subjects rate themselves as having "good" or "native like" skills in speaking, reading and writing in English. These speakers are much more proficient in Spanish even in terms of writing skills. There are also generational differences with regard to English speaking

Table 7

COMMUNITY SELF REPORT OF LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

LANGUAGE CAPABILITY	MEAN	1 NONE %	2 VERY LITTLE %	3 ACCEPTABLE %	4 GOOD %	5 NATIVE %
SPEAK ENGLISH	2.05	17.3	28.4	24.7	12.3	17.3
UNDERSTAND ENGLISH	3.08	12.2	26.8	23.2	17.1	20.7
READ ENGLISH	2.87	25.9	16.0	23.5	13.6	21.0
WRITE ENGLISH	2.74	28.8	21.3	20.0	8.8	21.3
SPEAK SPANISH	4.48	1.2	6.2	7.4	13.6	71.6
UNDERSTAND SPANISH	4.60	----	5.0	2.5	20.0	72.5
READ SPANISH	4.01	2.5	12.4	15.0	21.3	48.8
WRITE SPANISH	3.98	7.6	8.9	11.4	22.8	49.4

proficiency. The majority (80%) of those who are 40 years of age or older rate their English speaking ability as "none" or "very little," as compared to 48.1% of group 2 (20-40 years old) and 23.5% of group 1 (10-20 years). Of those who are 10 to 20 years old, 38.2% rate their English proficiency as "acceptable," 14.7% as "good," and 23.5% as "native" like. Although the respondent's oral command of English is high, their writing skills are limited on this language.

Attitudes Toward Languages And Language Varieties

Respondents were also asked to give a self report evaluating the kinds of Spanish and English used by them, as well as the kinds of Spanish spoken in their surrounding areas.

Several studies have examined different varieties of Spanish present in Hispanic communities of the United States (Sánchez, 1972; Elías-Olivares, 1976). As in the case of other Spanish-speaking communities throughout the world, speakers in the U.S. have access to a variety of speech styles which have been broadly labeled Formal, Informal and Mixed. Formal Spanish is the prestige standard variety used by educated speakers. Informal Spanish

is referred to as a variety which is not necessarily non-standard and which undergoes several linguistic changes, such as deletion of certain sounds, regularization of irregular verb forms, etc. Mixed refers to the variety that develops in language contact situations known as code-switching in which Spanish and English are used in the same discourse even when participants, setting and topic remain the same. Examples of these speech styles were given to the subjects who were answering the attitude questionnaire. Table 8 and 9 indicate that with regard to the

Table 8

PERSONAL EVALUATION OF ENGLISH AND SPANISH USED*

	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS MAXIMUM N = 84
FORMAL ENGLISH	14
INFORMAL ENGLISH	52
ENGLISH MIXED WITH SPANISH	50
FORMAL SPANISH	30
INFORMAL SPANISH	71
SPANISH MIXED WITH ENGLISH	46

*Multiple answers permitted.

Table 9

EVALUATION OF SPANISH SPOKEN IN WAUKEGAN*

	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS MAXIMUM N = 84
FORMAL SPANISH	15
INFORMAL SPANISH	63
SPANISH MIXED WITH ENGLISH	67

*Multiple answers permitted.

Spanish used by the respondents, 71 say they spoke informal Spanish, 46 that Spanish was mixed with English, and only 30 selected the category of formal Spanish. In the case of English, the informal variety of English and another type of English mixed with Spanish had a higher index of selection than formal English. As was expected, tolerance for mixed varieties was higher among those belonging to group 1 (10-20 years old).

When the subjects were asked to rate the kinds of Spanish spoken in Waukegan they were more critical (see Table 10). Only 15 thought that formal Spanish is spoken in Waukegan. Sixty-three thought that informal Spanish is used and 66 selected the mixed variety. Groups 1 and 2 were the ones that selected mixed and informal Spanish the most.

The community as a whole has a remarkably positive attitude toward Spanish language maintenance. As can be seen in Table 10, 77.1% think that

Table 10

ATTITUDES TOWARD SPANISH AND LANGUAGE MIXING

	YES %	NO %	DON'T KNOW %
SPANISH DECREASING IN YOUNGER GENERATION	46.2	31.3	22.5
SPANISH SHOULD BE USED IN SCHOOL	77.1	12.0	10.8
SPANISH SOULD BE TAUGHT AS SUBJECT	95.2	3.6	1.2
SPANISH USED IN SCHOOL SHOULD BE SAME SPOKEN BY THE CHILD AT HOME	50.0	42.9	7.1
SPEAKING FORMAL SPANISH WILL HELP TO SUCCEED IN LIFE	28.4	48.1	23.5
CHILDREN SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO MIX BOTH LANGUAGES IN CLASS	80.5	11.0	8.5
TEACHERS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO MIX BOTH LANGUAGES IN CLASS	75.6	15.9	8.5

Spanish should be used in school, and 95.2% would like that language to be taught as subject matter. A large percentage of those surveyed (74.4%) want Spanish to be taught all the way to 12th grade (Table 11). It is important to point out that people in group 2 (those who are 20-40 years old) have the highest percentage of positive answers followed by 74.3% of

Table 11

NUMBER OF YEARS SPANISH SHOULD BE TAUGHT

	%
KINDERGARTEN -- 1ST GRADE	1.2
1ST -- 3RD GRADE	2.4
4TH -- 6TH GRADE	3.7
KINDERGARTEN -- 6TH GRADE	17.1
ALL THE WAY TO 12TH GRADE	74.4
DON'T KNOW	1.2

group 1 (10-20 years old) and only 68.2% of group 3 (40 years old or older). Groups 1 and 2 will probably be more influential than group 3 with regard to attitudes that will shape the future of bilingualism in this community. Furthermore, most parents belong to group 2 and they are the ones that have influenced their children's language preferences.

The younger groups (10-20 years old) have the highest percentage of tolerance for mixing English and Spanish in the classroom on the part of students as well as teachers.

Despite the strong positive attitudes towards the maintenance of Spanish in this community vis a vis the learning of English, the respondents realize that English is the language they need to master to achieve upward mobility (see Table 12) and to obtain a job. However, one must pay attention to the percentage that the category "both" has for questions such as "which language would you use all the time if you could?," and "which language is most advantageous?" The respondents also realize that the acquisition of formal Spanish is not totally necessary to achieve success in life as this is a precominantly English-speaking society.

Table 12

ATTITUDES TOWARD ENGLISH AND SPANISH

	SPANISH %	BOTH %	ENGLISH %
LANGUAGE MOST ADVANTAGEOUS TO KNOW IN U.S.A.	13.8	40.0	46.3
LANGUAGE MOST ADVANTAGEOUS TO KNOW IN BILINGUAL NEIGHBORHOODS	28.9	44.6	26.5
LANGUAGE MOST USEFUL TO GET A JOB IN U.S.A.	3.6	27.7	68.7
LANGUAGE YOU WOULD USE ALL THE TIME IF YOU COULD	19.5	61.0	19.5
WHICH LANGUAGE IS THE MOST BEAUTIFUL	35.4	54.4	10.1

Overall, the results indicate a strong attitude of support for maintaining Spanish as well as the conviction that children can learn both languages at the same time without jeopardizing the acquisition of English (Table 13). Their definition of bilingual education is at odds with

Table 13

DEFINITION OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

	%
LEARN ENGLISH, KEEP SPANISH	39.3
LEARN ENGLISH ONLY	19.0
LEARN SPANISH	2.4
SPEAK BETTER FOR SELF IMPROVEMENT	8.3
LEARN IN SPITE OF LANGUAGE	6.0
CARE FOR EDUCATION OF L2 STUDENTS	2.4
NECESSARY FOR SUCCEEDING IN THE U.S.	4.8
DON'T KNOW	17.9

current U.S. language policies. Almost forty per cent (39.3%) of the respondents think that bilingual education involves not only learning English but maintaining Spanish as well.

The Target Children Parent Sample

It was previously stated that the children's language use needed to be studied in relationship to the community's pattern of language use and that their level of language proficiency may be a function of their parents' language proficiency and their attitudes towards bilingualism. We will now address ourselves to this issue and the question of how representative the parents of the six target children are when compared to the community as a whole.

The sociological background of the ten parents interviewed is comparable to that of the rest of the community as a whole. Their attitudes are most closely aligned with group 2, those who are twenty to forty years old. This is also the age group to which six out of the ten parents belong. It is evident, however, that the parents sub-sample has been in Waukegan longer than the rest. Fifty per cent of the parents have lived in the area between 10 and 20 years as compared to 2.1 - 5 years which is the mode for the community. However, the majority of the parents sub-sample (80%) are first generation immigrants -- with regard to generation of residence in the U.S. -- as compared to the community at large which is a second generation community.

The patterns of language acquisition within the parent's sub-sample are similar. Ninety per cent of the parent's sub-sample spoke Spanish as their first language, which is understandable since the majority are first

generation residents. None of the parents understood English first, in contrast with the community data where 7.2% understood English first, then Spanish or both languages. Only one parent reported understanding both languages first. This was one of the parents of a child who was placed at level 5 in English. The parent's sub-sample surpass the rest of the community in skills in reading and writing as indicated on a self report measure.

The parents of the six target children reported positive attitudes toward English and bilingualism as did the community at large. The parents' sub-sample tended to rate English as being more important in bilingual neighborhoods than the rest of those surveyed. This is probably due to their pattern of longer residence in the area.

The same attitudes were reported by the parents' sub-sample when they were asked what the advantage was in knowing Spanish when looking for a job and which language they would prefer to use all the time. None of the parents thought Spanish was helpful in getting a job, and one-third (33.3%) chose to use English all the time if possible, with an even distribution between the three alternatives (use Spanish, English or both).

There were similar results regarding language use in social domains in the community sample and the parents' sub-sample (see Table 6). The only difference between the community and parents sub-sample data is that the latter uses Spanish more across all domains than does the community at large, except when attending church, watching T.V., and reading newspapers.

With regard to the parents' self report of linguistic competence in English, only the mothers of two of the level 5 children consider themselves to be native speakers of English. They also evaluate their Spanish

skills highly. The father of two of them was also very proficient in English and this is probably why Ana and Christina have reached level 5. Paula is an extraordinary case for she is a level 5 although her mother evaluates her English speaking skills as "very little," her reading skills as "acceptable" and she reports no skills in writing. Almost all the interaction between Paula and her parents and relatives is in Spanish.

César's mother has been in U.S. for less than two years and has no skills in English at all. Her older children have to serve as interpreters whenever she needs to communicate in English. César, Paula, Juanita and José's parents all report native competence in Spanish although the majority report fewer skills in reading and particularly in writing. Paula's case may be explained in terms of the positive attitude on the part of her parents for her learning English. Since they have lived in the U.S.A. longer than the LEP children's parents, that influence is already shown in Paula as well as her older brother who speaks English well in spite of using mainly Spanish at home.

As is the case with the community at large, the parents of the six target children have very positive attitudes toward bilingualism, the maintenance of Spanish and the teaching of that language in school. They state that they want their children to acquire English and maintain Spanish so that they may have better job opportunities, be able to communicate with family members if they go back to the native countries, and be able to interact with recent newcomers from their country of origin. The following statements reflect these attitudes.

"Porque si lleva uno el puro inglés tal vez uno no pueda vivir allá. Con los mismos problemas que llegamos aquí llegamos allá."

"Because if one only knows just English perhaps one wouldn't be able to live there. We would return there with the same problems we came here with."

"No lo necesitan (el español) si se quedan aquí ... pero un bilingüe tiene mejores beneficios aquí."

"One doesn't need it (Spanish) if one stays here -- but a bilingual has better advantages here."

"Sí sirve (el español) porque muchos siguen llegando de México y entonces de todos modos el idioma no muere allí."

Yes, it's worthwhile (Spanish) because many people keep coming from Mexico and that way the language doesn't die."

Some of the parents blamed their dropping out of school on language problems and lack of counseling. One of the parents pointed out to one of the investigators that she wants her daughter to speak both languages "so she won't go out like me."

The majority of the studies dealing with language usage in Hispanic communities have pointed out (Hudson-Edvards and Bills, 1980; Solé, 1980) that Hispanic communities such as those of New Mexico in the Southwest, or Miami, Florida, represent yet another example of a shift from Spanish monolingualism to English monolingualism. Other studies, however, state the need to consider the sociolinguistic dynamics of communities such as the Rio Grande Valley in South Texas (Amastae, 1978) or East Harlem in New York (Pedraza, Attinasi and Hoffman, 1980) as cases in which these communities aim toward a more stable balance of both languages. It remains to be seen if the latter situation may be one that developes in Waukegan provided that the community's attitudes and desires are reinforced by language planning efforts aimed at achieving a stable bilingual community.

The School, The Classroom, The Target Children And Their Teachers

The school. After observing the three schools and choosing children from two classrooms in different schools (B and C) as possible target subjects, School C was chosen to carry out the study. There were several reasons why we chose all children from the same school and classroom: a) children with all the different proficiency profiles in L1 and L2 needed for the study were found in the third grade classroom in school C, b) the subjects spent the whole school day in the bilingual class, and c) the teacher was very willing to cooperate in the study and seemed to be more at ease with visitors in the classroom.

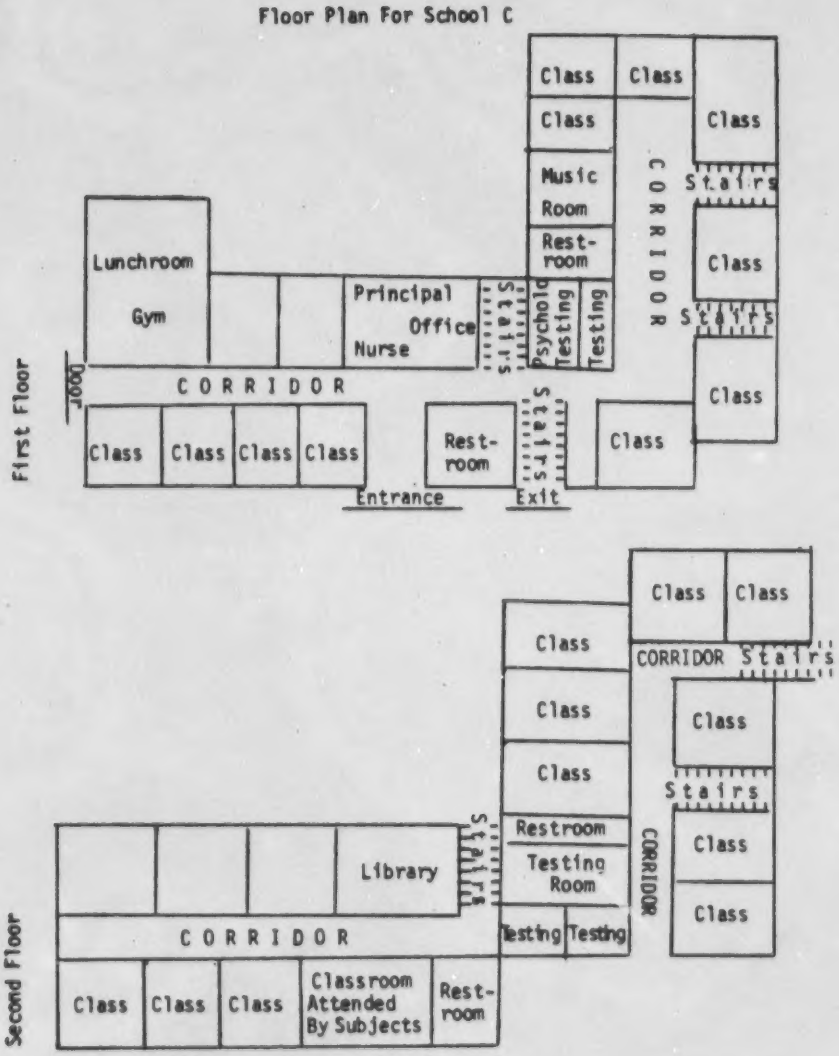
The school is attended by 724 children from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds (47.5% Latinos,[3] 15.6% Blacks, 36.9% whites, 1.0% other). A large per cent of the school population is bused. The school has a large Title I component. The school principal is Latino. There are 40 teachers in the school. The bilingual program in this school spans through grades K-- 6 and it has nine teachers instructing 216 children.

The school building has an old and a new wing and it is well kept and organized. A floor description of the school can be seen in Figure 4.

The classroom. The classroom where the data for the study was collected is 1 of 31 in the school. It is situated on the floor of the new wing of the school (see Figure 4).

The classroom is well lighted and aired. The desks are movable. Generally children have their own desk although they may have to change desks or move to a different table for group activities.

Figure 4



The target children. Figure 5 shows a plan of the classroom and the place where each one of the students sits during activities when the whole classroom works together.

Figure 5

Subjects' Seating Arrangements

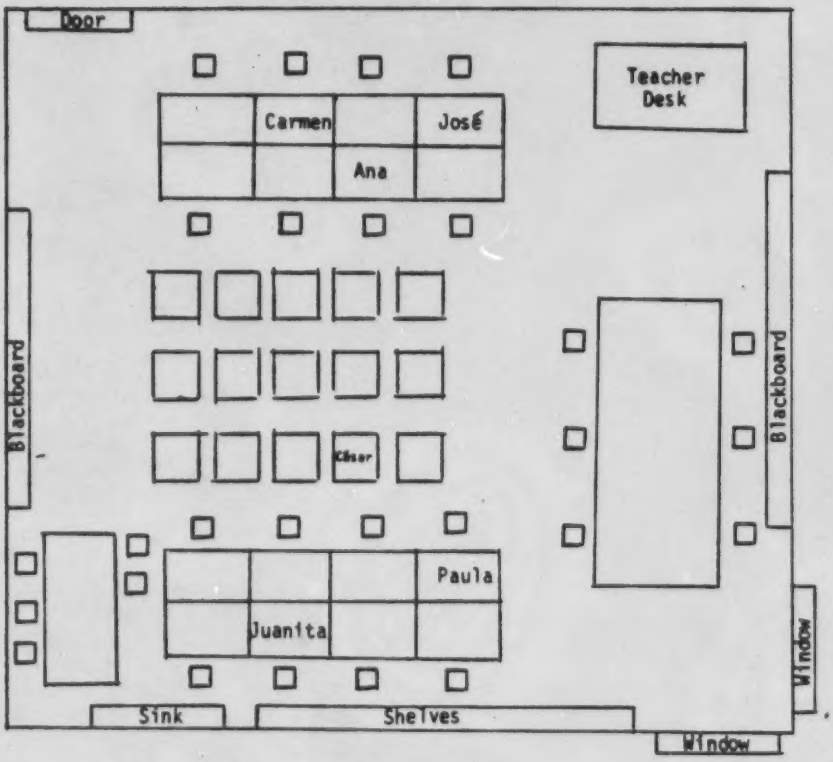


Table 14 identifies the children by name according to their proficiency descriptions in Spanish and English.

Table 14

Children's Name and Proficiency Description

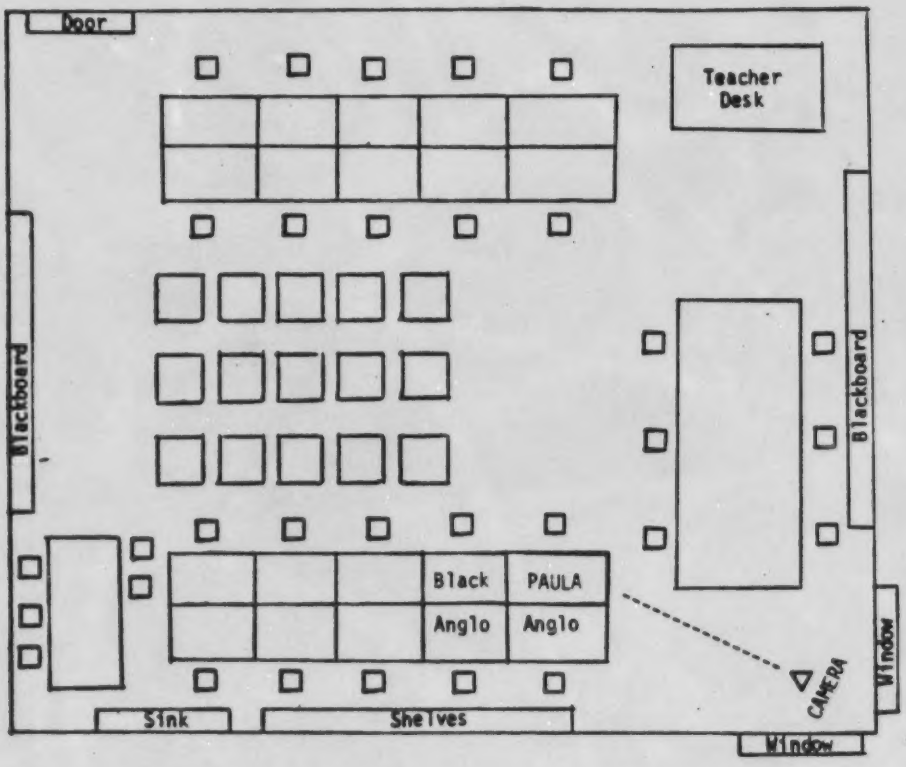
Paula	High E - High S
Ana	High E - Low S
Carmen	High E - No S
Juanita	Low E - High S
César	No E - High S
José	Low E - Low S

Paula. Paula is proficient in both Spanish and English. She attended the bilingual program while learning English. In the classroom she takes the role of the socializer. She gets along with everyone and relates well with all children. She can successfully switch from Spanish to Standard English to Black English within the same interaction.

She sits at the same desk all the time, except for reading instruction. During the morning activities she usually sits with English-speaking children. Figure 6 shows the intermediate area of the classroom where she sits. In

Figure 6

Paula's Physical Classroom Environment



the afternoon Daisy (a Latina) takes Henri's seat and Martha (Latina) sits at Mini's desk. Figure 6 shows the position of the video tape camera during the day of Paula's recording. In her case, the language proficiency level was rated as a 5 in both Spanish and English on the following criteria: LAS test, teacher judgment, investigators' interviews. Only her parents rated her Spanish proficiency as Level 4 (which is still high).

The following is an example of Paula's story retelling spontaneous speech section in the LAS in Spanish and English.

Paula's Story Retelling

English: There was a big animal. He wanted to drink and he saw a bowl. He wanted to drink lemonade and he got sick. Then, the friends, the big one, brought him some food, the middle one brought him flowers and the little one brought him a flute gold. Then, they told him, if he was feeling good and he told them a bit better.

Spanish: Una vez había una giganta y le gustaba comer y una vez quiso comer en un "bowl" y era pintura y se enfermó porque no le gustó porque era pintura. Se sintió muy mala y se enfermó. Luego vinieron sus amigos y el gigante el más grande le trajo pan, el mediano/grande le trajo unas flores y el grande/chiquito una trompeta de plata y luego le dijo ya me siento más mejor. Que dice luego, que dice, no me voy a comer pintura.

Paula lives with her parents and an older brother in a rented apartment in an integrated white-Hispanic low SES neighborhood. Paula's mother reports oral and reading ability in English and in Spanish. The family

uses more Spanish than English for communication at home although they prefer to listen to the media (i.e., radio, newspapers, etc.) in English.

Ana. Ana is proficient in English and shows low proficiency in Spanish. A sample of her production in Spanish and in English is shown in the story retelling section of the LAS as follows:

Ana's story retelling

> English: The monster likes pink lemonade. He drank something he thought it was pink lemonade, and it was pink ink. Then, the next day he felt sick and then, the three monsters came and the big one gave him some fruit, the middle size gave him some green flowers and the little one gave him a golden flute. And then he said he felt a little bit better.
>
> Spanish: La mujer. Ella, ella comió pintura. Se enfermó. Los amigos les dio pan y flores y una trompeta. Bien un poquito.

The area of the classroom where Ana sits is integrated. Latino-Spanish speakers, Latino-English speakers and Black and Anglo children sit in that area for most of the day. Occasionally (i.e., for reading instruction) children go to one of the long tables in the classroom for reading instruction. She interacts mainly with Carmen and Stacy who are English speakers.

Ana lives in a middle class neighborhood with her younger brother and her mother. They speak mainly English at home. Her granmother lives nearby and Ana spends a great amount of time at her grandmother's who speaks mainly Spanish.

Carmen. Carmen is proficient in English but shows almost no proficiency in Spanish. The following is a sample of her oral production as related to the story retelling section of the LAS.

Carmen's story retelling

> English: The monster was drinking pink ink. He got really sick and his friends came and gave him some presents. The big one gave him fruits, the middle one some green flowers and the smallest one gave him a gold flute. And the ... the monster said he will never drink pink ink.
>
> Spanish: Comer pink paint.

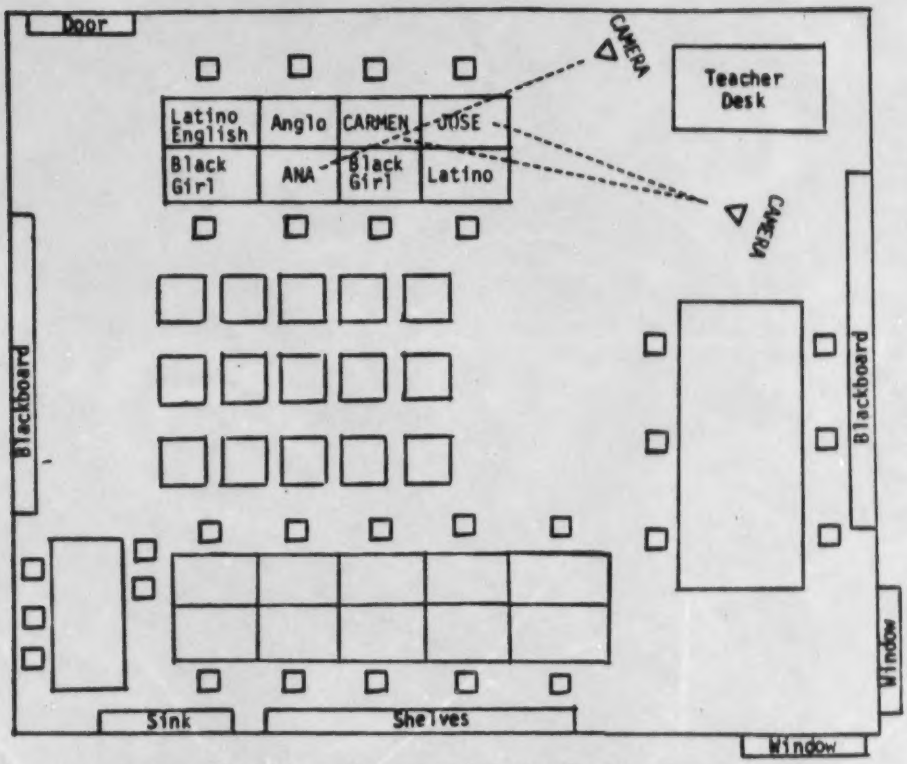
Carmen has attended the monolingual classroom since kindergarten. She is now attending the bilingual classroom due to her mother's interest in her learning Spanish so that Carmen can communicate better with her stepfather who speaks only Spanish. She is an above average student. Usually she is involved in class work so she doesn't talk much with classmates when she is working, except for less structured situations such as art and Spanish instruction.

Carmen's direct physical environment in the classroom is the same as Ana's which is shown in Figure 7. She generally refuses to talk in Spanish with Spanish proficient children in the classroom. Most of her interactions in the classroom are with the teacher and Ana in English.

At home, Carmen lives with her mother and stepfather in a middle class neighborhood. She has an older sister and a younger brother living

Figure 7

Ana, Carmen and José's Physical Environment In The Classroom



Note: Chart shows the camera location for the classroom videotaping for each subject individually.

at home. Most of her life she has spoken only English at home. Recently, Spanish has been emphasized at home due to the fact that her stepfather speaks only Spanish.

José. José was described as a child with low proficiency in both Spanish and English by the criteria used for subject selection. He came to the USA five years ago. He is attending a bilingual education program to improve his English so he can attend a monolingual classroom.

A sample of José's oral production on the story retelling subtest of the LAS follows:

José's story retelling

English: The monster ... He said he never drink lemonade because he is sick. His friends going to see him and he brought some food.

Spanish: La señora comió pintura y no le gustó. Dijo que ya no voy a comer más pintura. Y el gigante grande le trajo pan. El gigante mediano le trajo flores y el gigante pequeño le trajo una trompeta de plata.

The teacher believes that José may have some learning problems. In the classroom, he spends a lot of time with a small group of Low English proficiency children working on English reading and language arts and Spanish with the teacher aide. This group meets either in a testing room in another section of the school or at a long table in the classroom.

In the small group, José is more active in school work than during sessions involving the whole classroom. Even in this situation he is very hesitant about everything he does. At times, other children in the group or even the teacher aide make negative remarks about him.

In the large group activities José sits in the same physical environment as Carmen and Ana (see Figure 7). There he interacts more with Gilbert who is considered a behavior problem. Carmen and Ana do not like to interact with him. In general, he does not get much

attention from the teacher or the other students when he is seated in that corner.

At home, José lives with his mother, father and several older siblings. Both parents speak only Spanish at home and listen to the media in Spanish. Both parents work full time so José spends most of his time at home by himself or with an older brother. They live in an integrated (white-Latino) neighborhood. Parents report that José talks a lot with friends on the phone but he is not outspoken when adults are around. This may be a case where the topic, setting and person are the main determinants of the level of proficiency of an individual. In cases similar to this one, language proficiency should be explained in regard to each one of the factors described above to make it relevant to the individual and his/her real needs.

Juanita. Juanita was described as a child of high proficiency in Spanish and low proficiency in English by the criteria used for subject selection. A sample of her oral production as collected from the story retelling subtest of the LAS follows:

Juanita's story retelling

English: The monster is drinking painting and he is sick and three friends ...

Spanish: Había una vez una gigantita morada que comió helado rojo y se puso enferma y dijo que era pintura roja y le regalaron una mata y una trompeta y dijo que ya no volverá a comer pintura nunca más.

Juanita is a very dedicated student as shown by her classroom behavior (i.e., participation, task oriented, etc.). Despite her lack of English proficiency she is perceived as a good student by teachers and students. She is good in other subjects, especially when they are introduced in Spanish. She follows instructions and does worksheets and homework as told. In the class, she sits with the low English proficiency group who works with the teacher aide most of the time, except for activities involving the whole class. Either in the small or whole class situation she likes to participate and compete fully in classroom activities.

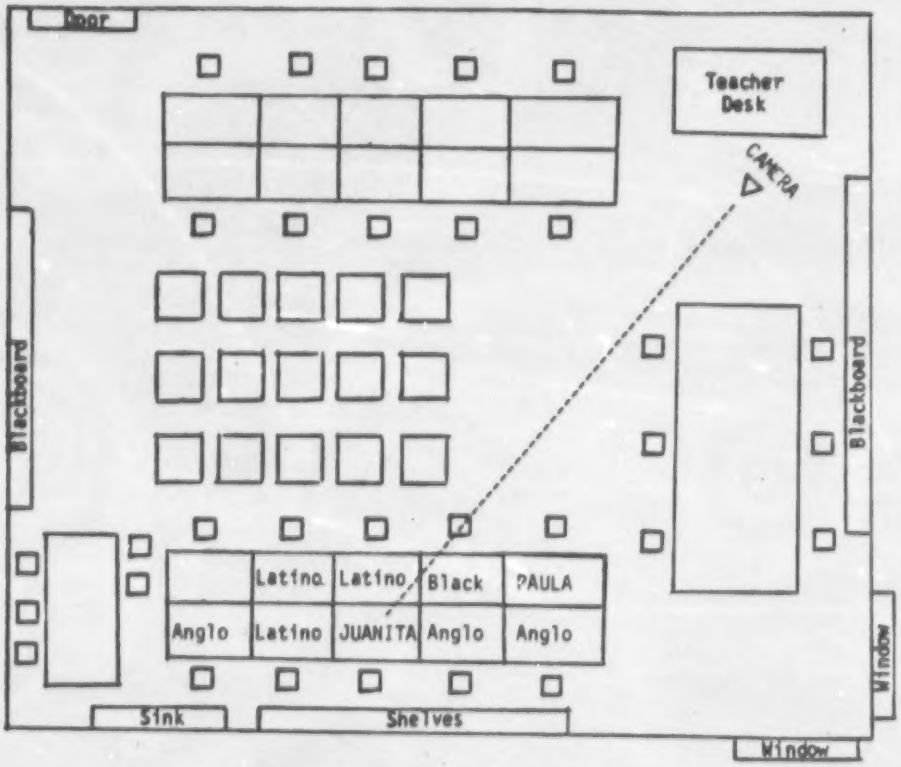
During the whole class activities she sits in an integrated part of the classroom. Her immediate physical classroom environment is illustrated in Figure 8.

She tends to interact with everyone in the classroom, even when she has trouble communicating, but she prefers to relate to other Latino girls in the class, especially in more informal settings (i.e., art session).

She has been in the USA for less than one year. She lives with her mother, father, grandmother and two younger sisters. They live in a low SES neighborhood composed of mainly Latinos and whites. Spanish is the main language used at home even when listening to the media. Juanita's

Figure 8

Juanita's Physical Classroom Environment



mother and grandmother stay at home and they try to stimulate and help the children a great deal which seems to enhance their self image and motivation in the school setting as seen by Juanita's performance in school.

César. César show shows high Spanish proficiency and very low English proficiency (Level I - II). A sample of his story retelling performance in the LAS follows:

César's story retelling

English: (Only when asked; no spontaneous speech.)

A monster ... The monster he drinks ink. He is sick, he says he does like it. He are sick.

Spanish: Un gigante que quería comer una sopa de fresca y no era de fresa era pintura y estaba muy enfermo y al rato se mejoró un poquito y dijo que ya no iba a comer más pintura.

César has been in the USA for less than a year. He is a very outgoing and friendly boy, who tries to relate to everyone in the classroom in spite of his difficulty in English. In the class is very interested in learning English.

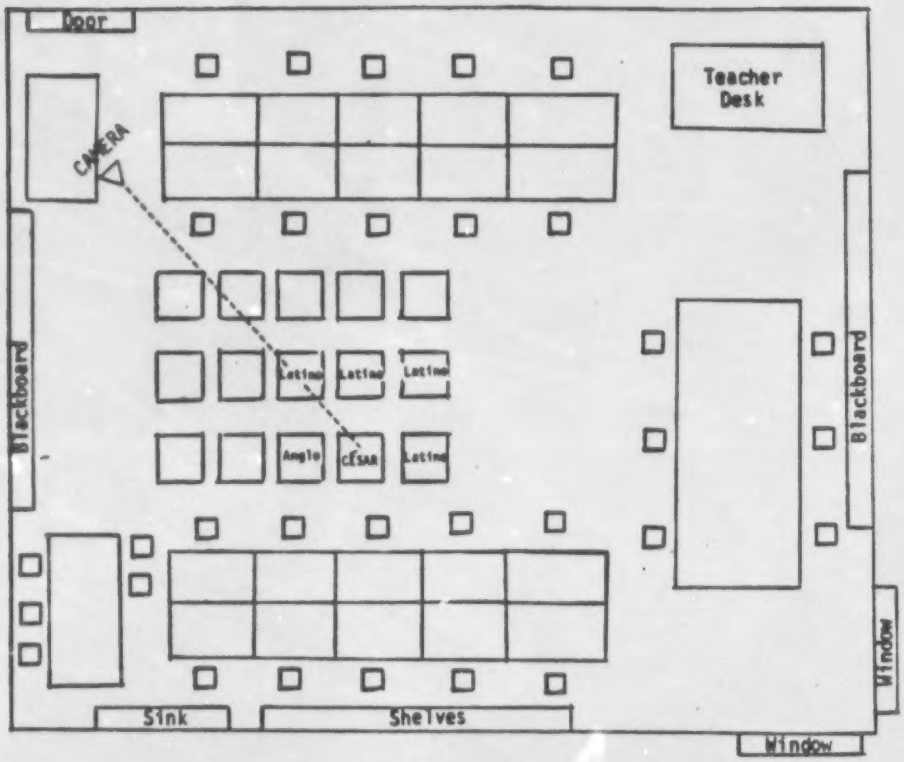
During most of the day he sits with the teacher aide and the other children who are learning English at a long table in the classroom or in a testing room in another area of the school. For activities when the whole class participates, the configuration in his classroom environment is shown in Figure 9.

He is surrounded by either Anglo-American or Latino children who are English proficient. In whole class situations, César tends to interact mainly with Arturo who is bilingual but he likes to interact with other children as well. Although he tries very hard to learn and practice English, Carlos can be a behavior problem so the teacher has to assert control over him constantly.

At home, César lives with three brothers and his mother who is unemployed. They live in a low SES mixed Hispanic-Black neighborhood. His mother did not finish elementary school and has no English proficiency at all. Spanish is the only language used at home. They listen to the Spanish media as well.

Figure 9

César's Physical Classroom Environment



The teacher. The teacher is Anglo-American and is fluent in both Spanish and English. She is in her second year of teaching. She is very organized (as reflected in her classroom management techniques and in her work plans) and committed to her teaching. Usually she prepares lesson plans for the teacher aide to work with the low English proficiency group in Spanish and/or English reading and language arts. She has set routines in the classroom but she is willing to change the routines as needed. She keeps discipline in the classroom, although children are free to move around at certain times of the day or during certain activities. She is pleasant and has good rapport with her students.

The teacher aide. The teacher aide is Puerto Rican. She is a native Spanish speaker; she knows English well, although she speaks with a strong accent. She prefers to speak in Spanish and prefers to relate to the Hispanic students in the class. She is in charge of most of the activities in Spanish reading, English reading and language arts with the four low English proficiency students. She helps the teacher correct papers for the whole class. Although the teacher specifies the activities to be carried out with the students, she spends a lot of time speaking to them in Spanish on topics of interest to the children.

Relationship Between Current Tests Used To Measure Language Proficiency And Children's Actual Knowledge Of Language

Rationale And Problem

Tests of language proficiency widely used in bilingual programs vary in the type of constructs used to measure proficiency. Some tests measure vocabulary knowledge, others measure the use of certain grammatical forms varying in complexity, still other tests use a more complete construct, where function as well as form of language are taken into account to determine language proficiency.

In general, though, these test constructs are based on adult expectations of what children should be able to produce linguistically rather than on what children actually do. It is as though the dichotomy between what test measure and what children do linguistically make the relationship between the content of tests and the child's language repertoire non-congruent. As such, what tests measure becomes irrelevant or too narrow in scope to portray fully the actual richness of children's natural language repertoire. Thus, children are penalized for not producing what adults, as test developers, feel they should produce and, in turn, it is impossible to account for the real communicative competence of children.

To deal with these issues qualitative analysis of the language repertoire of the six children and the content of existing tests was undertaken.

Interactions obtained in classroom settings and homes were analyzed. We do not intend to make generalizations from the findings at this stage. The different levels of proficiency of the children in the study, though, were representative of children attending bilingual programs and, as such, their language behavior may be similar, in terms of their communicative repertoire per level. Finally, it is not the intent of the paper to make judgments about the tests used in the analysis.

The intent of the study is to bring up examples of ways in which current test instruments and actual children's language are non-congruent, so as to specify the need for new constructs which are based on what children can do linguistically. As such, it is expected that most, if not all of the different aspects of communicative competence will be involved in the determination of language proficiency in bilingual children. Tests developed from this perspective should be more holistic in nature and take into account the richness in language use (form and function) found in children's natural language repertoires.

In regard to more holistic perspectives in communicative competence testing (i.e., cloze tests), integrative views of communicative competence have shown the need to evaluate form and function of language when determining levels of proficiency in second language learners. Carroll (1978) has distinguished three levels of proficiency (basic, intermediate and advanced). He defines levels in terms of ten evaluation criteria which can be applied to test scoring procedures in integrative test instruments. The criteria are: size, complexity, range, speed, flexibility, accuracy, appropriateness, independence, repetition and hesitation. Morrow (1977) has suggested that communicative tasks can serve as integrative tests of the learner's communicative competence. Morrow (1977) provides a list of

criteria which could be used to evaluate these types of tests. They are comprehensibility, appropriateness, grammatical accuracy and naturalness of response.

The following section of the report presents some data which may shed further light on the issue of predictability of communicative competence through grammatical vs communicative competence tests.

The issue of congruence between test constructs in language proficiency tests and children's language repertoire will be explored by comparing and describing examples which illustrate the relationship between what the test measures and what the children actually produce lingustically.

Test Constructs And Predictability Of Language Proficiency Levels

In selecting subjects for the present study, one of the criteria used was the Language Assessment Scales (LAS) results. The LAS is based on the premise that language consists of four primary subsystems: the phonemic system, the referential system, the syntactic system and the pragmatic system. The test includes five subtests described as phonemic, minimal sound pairs, lexical or vocabulary, and sentence comprehension and production (a story retelling subtest which measures pragmatic use of language).

For most of the six children chosen in the sample, the LAS results showed levels of proficiency which were the same as at least two of the other three criteria involved in the selection process, namely the proficiency levels as determined by the teachers, the investigators and the parents. Only in three cases, and with the Spanish proficiency test, was there a difference between the levels assigned by the other criteria and

the LAS results. An analysis by subtest was done to determine whether all subtests or some of them were better predictors of proficiency levels. The LAS Manual and Technical report (De Avila, 1975) does not explain the method used to determine the cut off points which delineate the different levels. The cut-off points are described in Table 15.

Table 15

Interpretation Of LAS Scores In Terms Of Levels

Score	Description	Level
85 to 100	Totally fluent in English (or Spanish)	5
75 to 84	Near fluent in English (or Spanish)	4
65 to 74	Limited English (or Spanish) speaker	3
55 to 64	Non-English (or Spanish) speaker, apparent linguistic deficiencies	2
54 and 60	Non-English (or Spanish) speaker, total linguistic deficiency	1

A per cent of right answers per subtest was determined for each subject. Table 16 (A and B) shows this information as well as the subtest proficiency levels using the same breakpoints as for the total scores. The data were reviewed to determine which subtests and how often the subtest scores differed by two or more proficiency levels from the total score. Subtest scores were defined as non-congruent with the total score when there was a difference of two or more levels of proficiency between the subtest and the total score.

Table 16

Per Cent of Responses According to Subtests

A - English Test

Subtest	Paula		Ana		Carmen		José		Juanita		César	
	%	Level	%	Level	%	Level	%	Level	%	Level	%	Level
I Phonemes	100	5	93	5	96	5	70	3	86	5	47	1
II Minimal Sound Pairs	100	5	100	5	95	5	90	5	90	5	47	1
III Lexicon	100	5	100	5	100	5	67	3	75	4	72	3
IV Oral Comprehension	100	5	90	5	90	5	70	3	40	1	60	3
V Pragmatic Use of Language*	--	4	--	5	--	5	--	2	--	2	--	1
Total LAS Score and Level	86	5	98	5	95	5	57	2	57	2	43	1

*For subtest V a level was assigned according to different factors (see De Avila 1975).

B - Spanish Test

Subtest	Paula		Ana		Carmen		José		Juanita		César	
	%	Level	%	Level	%	Level	%	Level	%	Level	%	Level
I Phonemes	86	5	80	4	86	5	73	3	93	5	37	1
II Minimal Sound Pairs	80	4	60	2	45	1	95	5	95	5	95	5
III Lexicon	100	5	94	5	92	5	100	5	97	5	94	5
IV Oral Comprehension	100	5	90	5	100	5	100	5	80	4	90	5
V Pragmatic Use of Language**	--	5	--	2	--	1	--	3	--	5	--	5
Total LAS Score and Level	95	5	61	2	50	1	86	4	96	5	90	5

**For subtest V a level was assigned according to coherence of content of the story, repeated syntactic errors, word combination, completeness of sentences, accuracy of story.

A review of the data in Table 16 shows that for the English test on six occasions the subtest provided a score (level) two or more levels removed from the level assigned by the total score. In this case, the levels shown in the subtest were usually higher than the levels assigned by the total score. This difference in levels appeared in three different subjects and only with the low English proficiency subjects (levels 1, 2 and 3) who were learning English as a second language. In general, it can be said that each one of the individual subtests is a good predictor of the total level of proficiency for English proficient children but it

tended to vary some with low English proficiency children, especially the lexicon and minimum sound pairs. For that reason then, the whole LAS English test score is a better predictor of the language proficiency of the students. The story retelling subtest (pragmatic use of language) proved to be as good a predictor of English proficiency as the total score for all children.

In the Spanish form of the LAS, three of the five subtests (phonemic, lexical and oral comprehension) produced scores with two or more levels of difference from the total score. Students were overscored by the subtest while the total score showed much lower proficiency in Spanish. These subtests by themselves were not good predictors of language proficiency levels, especially in children who were not highly proficient in that language. Again, the only subtest which seemed to predict the levels of proficiency of the children tested, as well as the total test score was the pragmatic use of language subtest, which measured communicative competence as determined by the construct used for scoring this section.

Since the LAS is one of the most widely used tests of language proficiency in bilingual programs, it seems worthwhile to do a larger study to determine if these differences between the total and subtest scores occur often enough to call for a review of some of the subtests.

Our LAS data (see Table 16) seem to go along with findings by Savignon (1972), Tucker (1974) and Upshur and Palmer (1974) which indicate that communicative competence tests are, in general, better predictors of language proficiency than grammatical competence-based instruments.

Since the previous studies were done with college students, these findings suggest that the same holds true for younger children who are

learning a second language or who still have not attained full development in their first language.

Congruency Between Some Tests Widely Used To Determine Language Proficiency And The Children's Actual Language Repertoire

While some tests used to measure the language proficiency of bilingual students are based on constructs where several aspects of language are measured (i.e., LAS), others measure language proficiency by looking at only one aspect of language (i.e., vocabulary or syntax).

The James Language Dominance test is based on a vocabulary (production and comprehension) construct. It is a test widely used in bilingual programs to determine the children's levels of language proficiency. Although the test is to be used with K through second grade children, school districts also use it at the higher elementary grades. The test has a form in Spanish and one in English; both have the same vocabulary items.

Each form of the test contains a section on production and one on comprehension of vocabulary. The test was developed to evaluate the "language competence" (James, 1974, p. 10) of students in Spanish and in English. Although the manual states that the items are listed in order of difficulty (James, 1974, p. 11), there is no explanation of the criteria used for item selection.

Using the whole corpus of utterances which appears in the interaction repertoire of each subject in the language proficiency study, we checked to determine ho many of the items which appeared in the James Language Dominance Test also appeared in the children's language repertoire collected during a whole day of school. This content analysis may give us

an idea as to whether the items in the test occur frequently in children's speech and whether the words are indeed organized in order of difficulty.

The analysis of the English production subtest shows that 9 items out of the 20 items appeared in the children's school language repertoire. Six items appeared in the repertoire of two of the three children who were proficient in English while none of these items were used by the other child. José, who was rated low in proficiency in Spanish and English, produced three items.

The items which appeared in the school repertoire were mostly those which were related to school (book, pencil, sitting, talking, eating, scissors and home). One interesting finding is that items listed in English such as talking, eating, sitting, and drinking do not appear often as ing forms in the children's utterances but just as talk, eat, sit and drink. This verbal form seems to be more common in the children's language repertoire.

In the case of the home repertoire eight items appeared in the children's home repertoire. They mostly appeared in English proficient children. Some of the items in the test were the same as they appeared in the school's repertoire (house, pencil, eating, talking, sitting). Thus, in reality on three new items appeared and with very low frequency (two times maximum). Only 12 of the 20 items appeared in the total data and the larger number of occurrences was found in the children who were proficient in English.

When we examined the English comprehension subtest, only four items appeared in the children's school repertoire (show, chair, swimming and dog). The ing form listed in the test did not appear when a child used

swim which are at the beginning and at the end of the test; a surprising finding if one assumes the items are ordered by difficulty level.

Six items appeared in the home repertoire data and two of them had occurred in the school repertoire (dog and swimming). In all, only eight items occurred in the overall children's repertoire out of the 20 which appear in this subtest.

Only four items in the Spanish production subtest occur at least once in the school repertoire of the six children. Again, casa (home) appears to be common, together with other items which could be related to school activities (tijeras, sentado, libro). Six items appeared in the home repertoire. They were used only by the two children who were highly proficient in Spanish. Four of these items did not appear in the school repertoire (plato, come, habla and lápiz). Thus, only eight items out of the 20 appeared in the children's total collected repertoire.

Four items from the Spanish comprehension subtest appeared in the school repertoire (lumbre, zapato, duerme and nada). These items do not appear as listed in the test but modified according to ethnic differences or discourse preference of children (fuego, tenis, dormí and nadar). Six items occurred in the home repertoire. Of these, five were new items (carro, cuchara, estufa, silla, llora). In all, only 9 out of 20 items appeared in the total collected repertoire for the six children.

In conclusion, we found that only a very small part of the child's overall language repertoire, in terms of number of utterances, was taken into account in assessing the child's language proficiency via the vocabulary items in the test (range from 3.6% to 8.4% in English and from 0% to 4.2% in Spanish). From this perspective, the children may seem to be much

less proficient than they would appear to be if the whole children's language repertoire was used in the assessment. Since this is a content analysis comparing test content to children's actual language use in natural settings, we are not trying to imply that the children did not know the items in the test but that they may not occur with high frequency in natural language settings. Part of the problem is that tests are usually designed by adults, according to adult expectations of what children can do, rather than from observations of what children actually do do. The data, as analyzed, show little congruence in terms of vocabulary used by children and what this test of vocabulary measures. In general, the test tells us very little about the vocabulary the children have mastered and almost nothing about their language proficiency.

Another test widely used in bilingual programs is the Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM)(Burt et al, 1975). This test measures language proficiency in terms of language development using a syntax construct. Syntax was chosen as a measure of proficiency because the authors thought that: 1) Vocabulary varies according to experience and bilingual children have very heterogenous backgrounds (socially and culturally) in terms of experience; 2) Pronunciation varies a great deal across dialects and idiolects, and accent as an aspect of pronunciation is an indicator of other aspects such as SES, ethnicity, etc., than of language proficiency and 3) Functional use of language is hard to produce systematically, efficiently and naturally in large numbers of children.

The test has a form in Spanish and one in English and the score is mainly based on the use of different grammar structures which appear in children at different stages of language development. The test uses the "structured conversation" (Burt el al. 1975, p. 14) technique of eliciting

natural speech. It was developed and normed with K through second grade students, although it is often used with older children in elementary schools. This test places children in five proficiency levels: Level 1 -- no proficiency, Level 2 -- some comprehension but not oral production proficiency; Levels 3, 4 and 5 are determined in terms of particular groups of structures acquired hierarchically by children as they are at different levels in the language acquisition process. Cut-off points to define levels were determined by setting up points where at least 75% of the children had acquired a specific set of structures. Thus, a score of 95-100 indicates the child is at Level 5 (Proficient), a score of 85-94 indicates Level 4 (Intermediate), and a score of 45-84 or lower corresponds to Levels 1 or 2, depending on the degree of comprehension.

Table 17 lists the different structures that both the Spanish and the English tests measure.

Table 17

List of Structures Measured by Items in BSM

	Spanish Structure	English Structure
1.	Present Indicative	Short plural
2.	Possessive, article	Plural copula
3.	Adjective Gender	Singular Copula
4.	Copula (estar), article	Article
5.	Copula (estar), adjective gender	Progressive-ing, plural auxiliary, plural copula
6.	Progressive (ando / iendo)	Article, plural copula
7.	Copula (ser)	Singular auxiliary, singular copula, article
8.	Past Subjunctive (Perfect)	Progressive-ing
9.	Reflexive (se) indirect object pronoun, infinitive	Long plural
10.	Reflexive (se) direct and indirect object pronouns	Perfect conditional
11.	Reflexive (se), conjunction (que), present subjunctive	Possessive
12.	Reflexive (se), article, direct and indirect object pronouns	Past irregular
13.	Conjunctions (que), present subjunctive	

Each test (Spanish and English) has 18 items which measure individual structures or several of them which occur together as listed. The first eight structures are part of the proficiency repertoire of children at Levels 3 and 4, while the other five appear in Level 5 children (proficient in English).

With this data at hand, a check of each child's classroom interaction repertoire was carried out to determine how many of the structures listed actually appeared in their natural interactions.

Tables 18 and 19 show the list of structures measured and the total number of occurrences per child in English and in Spanish. The criteria

Table 18

Structures Measured by Items in the BSM and Their Occurrence in Children's Total Language Repertoire Collected

ENGLISH FORM

Structures \ Child	Proficiency Level 5 Paula Total Use: 148		Proficiency Level 5 Ana Total Use: 95		Proficiency Level 5 Carmen Total Use: 127		Proficiency Level 3 José Total Use: 19		Proficiency Level 2 Juanita Total Use: 19		Proficiency Level 1 Cesar Total Use: 26	
	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%
1. Short Plural	19	10.1	6	6.3	16	12.6	2	10.5	--	--	2	7.7
2. Plural Copula	13	6.9	--	--	7	5.5	1	5.2	--	--	--	--
3. Singular Copula	60	31.9	42	44.2	50	39.4	4	21.1	6	31.6	13	50
4. Article	12	6.4	19	20.0	12	9.4	2	10.5	3	15.8	--	--
5. Progressive-ing, plural auxiliary, plural copula	9	4.8	3	3.2	8	6.3	--	--	1	5.3	--	--
6. Article, plural copula	1	.5	1	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
7. Singular auxiliary, singular copula and article	27	14.4	5	5.3	7	5.5	1	5.2	--	--	2	7.7
8. Progressive-ing	17	9.0	6	6.3	10	7.9	2	10.5	8	42.1	1	3.8
9. Long Plural	1	.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
10. Perfect Conditional	3	1.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
11. Possessive	3	1.6	5	5.3	2	1.6	--	--	--	--	--	--
12. Past Irregular	23	12.2	24	25.3	15	11.8	7	36.8	1	5.3	8	30.8
Total Corpus of Utterances in English	676		458		591		103		147		119	
Percent of Utterances Using Tested Structures		27.8		20.7		21.5		18.4		12.9		21.8

Table 19

Structures Measured by Items in the BSM and their Occurrence in Children's Total Language Repertoire Collected

SPANISH FORM

Structures \ Child	Proficiency Level 5 Paula Total Use: 28		Proficiency Level 1-2 Ana Total Use: 4		Proficiency Level 1 Carmen Total Use: 2		Proficiency Level 3 José Total Use: 31		Proficiency Level 5 Juanita Total Use: 102		Proficiency Level 5 Cesar Total Use: 77	
	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%
1. Present indicative	--	--	--		--	--	1	3.2	2	2.0	6	7.8
2. Possessive, article	--	--	--		--		--	--	--	--	4	5.2
3. Adjective Gender	2	7.1	--		--		--	--	10	9.8	6	7.8
4. Copula (estar), article	8	28.6	--		--		3	9.7	13	12.7	5	6.5
5. Copula (estar), adjective gender	1	3.6	--		--				1	1.0	3	3.9
6. Progressive (ando/iendo) auxiliary (estar)	1	3.6	--		--		1	3.2	11	10.8	4	5.2
7. Copula (ser)	13	46.4	3	75	2	100	7	22.6	37	36.3	21	27.3
8. Past Subjunctive (Perfect)	1	3.6	--[1]		--		4	12.9	--	--		
9. Reflexive (se), indirect object pronoun, infinitive	--	--	--		--		--	--	--	--	--	--
10. Reflexive (se), direct and indirect object pronouns	1	3.6	--		--		7	22.6	11	10.8	19	24.7
11. Reflexive (se), conjunction (que), present subjunctive	--		--		--		1	3.2	2	2.0	3	3.9
12. Reflexive (se), article direct and indirect object pronouns	--		1	25	--		3	9.7	--	--	3	3.9
13. Conjunction (que), present subjunctive	1	3.6	--		--		4	12.9	15	14.7	3	3.9
Total Corpus of Total Utterances in Spanish	187		58		9		287		954		552	
Percent of Utterances Using Tested Structures		15.0		6.9		2.2		10.8		10.7		11.9

*Note: Conversation in Spanish with Experimenter mainly monosyllables.

for Level 3 performance is that the children produce six or less of the structures listed from items 1 through 8. Level 4 children are those who produce seven or more of the first eight listed structures (tested through ten items). Level 5 children are those who perform well in six out of the eight items which measure the use of structure nine through twelve as listed in Table 18 and nine through thirteen as listed in Table 19.

The English test results show that a larger (in numbers) and more varied number of structures appeared in children proficient in English (Level 5 according to our criteria) while very few were used by children

at proficiency levels 1, 2 and 3. The structures most often found in all students were the singular copula, the progressive and the past irregular. Of these, only the past irregular is among the five structures which determine Level 5 proficiency according to test performance. The long plural and the perfect conditional appeared infrequently in the balanced bilingual subject. They did not appear in the other two English proficient subjects in the sample.

The analysis of the total repertoire indicates that most of the structures appeared in the English proficient children. In general this test uses a very low percentage of the total language repertoire to determine the language proficiency of these children (from 12.9 to 27.8 per cent). If one accounts for only a small sample of the children's language repertoire then one is virtually ignoring a large sample of what children can do linguistically and is measuring only what adults feel is important in language proficiency.

Tables 20 A and B show the occurrence of the different English structures at home and in school separately. These tables demonstrate that even the low English proficient children use more English at home than they do in school. This may be due to the more structured situation in the classroom and the fact that these LEP children are grouped together for instruction. Maybe if these children interacted more with English speakers the patterns will change. At home, the data were collected in situations which involved children playing with siblings and friends; in those situations it appeared that English was used more frequently in spite of the low proficiency of the subjects.

Table 20

A - Structures Measured by Items in the BSM and Their Occurrence in Children's School Language Repertoire

ENGLISH FORM

Structures \ Child	Proficiency Level 5 Paula Total Use: 91		Proficiency Level 5 Ana Total use: 49		Proficiency Level 5 Carmen Total Use: 88		Proficiency Level 3 José Total Use 8		Proficiency Level 2 Juanita Total Use: 12		Proficiency Level 1 Cesar Total Use 28	
	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%
1. Short Plural	16	17.5	3	6.1	15	22.	2	25	--		2	25
2. Plural Copula	8	8.8	--	--	7	10.2	--	--	--		--	--
3. Singular Copula	25	27.4	16	32.6	21	31.9	1	12.2	2	16.7	4	50
4. Article	6	6.6	11	22.4	6	8.8	2	25	1	8.3	--	--
5. Progressive-ing, plural auxiliary, plural copula	1	1.1	2	4.1	5	7.3	--		--		--	--
6. Article, plural copula	1	1.1	1	2.0	--	--	--		--		--	--
7. Singular auxiliary, singular copula and article	--	--	1	2.0	--	--	--		--		--	--
8. Progressive-ing	15	16.5	6	12.2	9	13.2	2	25	8	66.7	1	12.5
9. Long Plural	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		--		--	--
10. Perfect Conditional	2	2.2	--	--	--	--	--		--		--	--
11. Possessive	3	3.3	2	4.1	1	1.5	1	12.2	--		--	--
12. Past Irregular	14	15.4	7	14.2	4	5.9	--	--	1	8.3	1	12.5
Total Corpus of Utterances in English	337		250		270		97		23		43	
Percent of Utterances Using Tested Structures		27		19.6		25.2		14		54.2		16.6

B - Structures Measured by Items in the BSM and Their Occurrence in Children's Home Language Repertoire

ENGLISH FORM

Structures \ Child	Proficiency Level 5 Paula Total Use: 97		Proficiency Level 5 Ana Total use: 62		Proficiency Level 5 Carmen Total Use: 99		Proficiency Level 3 José Total Use: 11		Proficiency Level 2 Juanita Total Use: 7		Proficiency Level 1 Cesar Total Use 16	
	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%
1. Short Plural	3	3.1	3	4.8	1	1.7	--	--	--	--	--	--
2. Plural Copula	6	6.2	--	--	--	--	1	9.1	--	--	--	--
3. Singular Copula	35	36.1	26	41.9	29	49.1	3	27.3	4	57.1	9	50.0
4. Article	6	6.2	8	12.9	6	10.2	--	--	2	28.6	--	--
5. Progressive-ing, plural auxiliary, plural copula	8	8.2	1	1.6	3	5.1	--	--	1	14.3	--	--
6. Article, plural copula	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
7. Singular auxiliary, singular copula and article	27	27.8	4	6.4	7	11.9	1	9.1	--	--	2	11.1
8. Progressive-ing	2	2.1	--	--	1	1.7	--	--	--	--	--	--
9. Long Plural	1	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
10. Perfect Conditional	1	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
11. Possessive	--	--	3	4.8	1	1.7	--	--	--	--	1	5.5
12. Past Irregular	9	9.3	17	27.4	11	18.6	6	54.5	--	--	7	38.9
Total Corpus of Home Utterances in English	338		208		221		46		124		76	
Percent of Utterances Using Tested Structures		28.6		22.1		18.3		23.9		5.6		23.7

When we examined the Spanish test data, we found that a large and more varied number of structures appeared in the more Spanish-proficient children (Level 5). Only one structure copula (ser) appeared in all subjects. One structure (reflexive (se), indirect object pronoun, infinitive) did not appear in any of the subjects. It is interesting to note that the balanced bilingual subject, Paula, produced only two of the five structures required for Level 5 and each structure appeared only once.

In general, a very low percentage (from 2.2% to 15%) of the total number of the children's utterances were used in evaluating language proficiency by using the BSM syntax construct. In particular, the Spanish test used much less of the subjects' total repertoire than did the English test. It seems again as if current test constructs are too narrow to cover the richness of repertoire in the children's natural language and, as such, these tests overlook a great deal of the children's linguistic abilities.

Table 21 A and B shows the analysis done with the school and home Spanish language repertoire's data separately. Paula, the balanced bilingual subject used much more Spanish at home than in school. This is due in part to the fact that she was grouped with English speakers in the classroom while at home she played with bilingual or monolingual Spanish speakers. Table 12 B shows that a very low percentage of the home language repertoire was taken into account in determining language proficiency in Spanish through the BSM. This may be due to the fact that the Spanish used in the classroom was much less formal than the English used there.

In the case of the BSM most of the structures measured in the test appeared in the language repertoire of the children studied. More

Table 21

A - Structures Measured by Items in the BSM and their Occurrence in Children's School Language Repertoire

SPANISH FORM

Structures \ Child	Proficiency Level 5 Paulo Total Use: 7		Proficiency Level 1-2 Ana Total Use: 3		Proficiency Level 1 Carmen Total Use: 0		Proficiency Level 3 José Total Use: 21		Proficiency Level 5 Juanita Total Use: 42		Proficiency Level 5 Cesar Total Use: 40	
	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%
1. Present Indicative	--	--	--		--	--	1	4.7	1	2.4	6	15
2. Possessive, article	--	--	--		--		--	--	--	--	2	5
3. Adjective Gender	--	--	--		--		--	--	9	21.4	3	7.5
4. Copula (estar), article	5	71.4	--		--		--	--	--	--	--	--
5. Copula (estar), adjective gender	1	14.3	--		--		--	--	1	2.4	2	5
6. Progressive (ando/iendo) auxiliary (estar)	--		--		--		--	--	--		1	2.5
7. Copula (ser)	1	14.3	2	66.6	--		2	9.5	9	21.4	3	7.5
8. Past Subjunctive (Perfect)	--		--		--		4	19		--	--	--
9. Reflexive (se), indirect object pronoun, infinitive	--		--		--		--	--	--	--	--	--
10. Reflexive (se), direct and indirect object pronouns	--		--		--		6	28.6	5	11.9	17	42.5
11. Reflexive (se), conjunction (que), present subjunctive	--		--		--		1	4.7	2	4.8	2	5
12. Reflexive (se), article direct and indirect object pronouns	--		1	33.4	--		3	14.3	--	--	2	5
13. Conjunction (que), present subjunctive	--		--		--		4	19.0	15	35.7	2	5
Total Corpus of Utterances in Spanish	12		58*		--		86		145		169	
Percent of Utterances Using Tested Structures		58.3		5.3		0		24.4		29.2		23.7

*Note: Conversation in Spanish with Experimenter mainly monosyllables.

B - Structures Measured by Items in the BSM and their Occurrence in Children's Home Language Repertoire

SPANISH FORM

Structures \ Child	Proficiency Level 5 Paulo Total Use: 21		Proficiency Level 1-2 Ana Total Use: 1		Proficiency Level 1 Carmen Total Use: 2		Proficiency Level 3 José Total Use: 10		Proficiency Level 5 Juanita Total Use: 60		Proficiency Level 5 Cesar Total Use: 37	
	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%	# Occurrences	%
1. Present Indicative	--	--	--		--	--	--	--	1	1.7	--	--
2. Possessive, article	--	--	--		--		--	--	--		2	5.4
3. Adjective Gender	2	9.5	--		--		--	--	1	11.7	3	8.1
4. Copula (estar), article	3	14.3	--		--		3	30	13	21.70	5	13.5
5. Copula (estar), adjective gender	--	--	--		--		--		--	--	1	2.7
6. Progressive (ando/iendo) auxiliary (estar)	1	4.8	--		--		1	10	11	18.3	3	8.1
7. Copula (ser)	12	57.1	1	100	2	100	5	50	28	46.7	18	48.6
8. Past Subjunctive (Perfect)	1	4.8	--		--			--				--
9. Reflexive (se), indirect object pronoun, infinitive	--		--		--		--					--
10. Reflexive (se), direct and indirect object pronouns	--		--		--		1	10	6	10.0	2	5.4
11. Reflexive (se), conjunction (que), present subjunctive	--		--		--			--	--	--	1	2.7
12. Reflexive (se), article direct and indirect object pronouns	--				--			--	--		1	2.7
13. Conjunction (que), present subjunctive	1	4.8	--		--			--		--	1	2.7
Total Corpus of Home Utterances in Spanish	175		12		9		201		899		383	
Percent of Utterances Using Tested Structures		32.0		8.3		2.2		5.0		8.0		11.5

*Note: Conversation in Spanish with Experimenter mainly monosyllables.

structures appeared in subjects who were more proficient in Spanish and/or English than in those less proficient in those languages. Nonetheless, the test seems to measure only what adults feel children should know to be proficient in a language and leave aside most of what children do in terms of communicative skills. This happens in spite of the fact that current research shows communicative skills to be better predictors of communicative competence and language proficiency than are grammar or vocabulary tests.

The main problem with current test constructs is that they are based on adult expectations of what children can do rather than on what they actually do linguistically. There is a need to find new test constructs for measuring language proficiency which are more holistic in nature and show a knowledge of or are based on what children do with language. These tests should approach the measurement of communicative competence from a wider perspective where form and function of language are involved and where natural language samples are the source of information about the language proficiency of each subject.

The Use Of Questions And Directives By Eight Year Old Hispanic Children In Formal And Informal Settings

Use Of Questioning Strategies

Rationale and problem. This section of the study examines the way Hispanic children, who are at different levels of proficiency in English and Spanish ask questions of their peers during natural classroom interaction and in other informal contexts (i.e., home). The identification of the social variables that influence the types of questions the children use will also be discussed. We intend to see if there are any differences

in the types of questions used by children who are more proficient in one or the other language when compared with children who are less proficient in the same language.

As Ervin-Tripp (1977) has stated, certain communicative acts are especially suitable for functional language analysis. Questions, for example, have a high frequency of occurrence, require responses by the addressee and the audience, and are used to communicate a variety of intentions.

Some studies have been done which deal with the questioning strategies used by English monolingual children who were the same age as those included in this study (Ervin-Tripp, 1977; Dore, 1977; Peck, 1978). However, most of the issues raised in those studies dealt with a comparison of children's and adults' discourse patterns. In our study we examined the repertoire of questions used by six children of Spanish-English speaking background who are at different levels of proficiency in both languages.

Data and discussion. The data for this study come from the child-child and child-teacher interaction both inside and outside the classroom which were extracted from transcripts of the videotapes which were made. Interactions are defined as a series of conversational turns by two or more speakers around a common activity of topic, and which are temporally related.

A total of 555 questions were contained in the total data corpus (home and school contexts). Table 22 lists the types of questions and how each was classified. The data were coded independently by two experienced coders to assure inter-rater reliability.

Table 22

Repertoire of Questions and Examples of
Communicative Intentions and Their Meaning

Requests for Information .... solicit information about the identity, location, time or property of an object, event or situation; e.g., ¿En cual página vas tú?

Requests for Clarification .... solicit more specific information when the child has failed to understand the referent of the previous utterance; a reason or explanation; e.g., Which one?

Requests for Approval .... to request a judgement or an attitude about events or situations; e.g., Do you think this looks good?

Requests for Action .... solicit the listener to perform, not to perform, or stop to perform an action; e.g., José, ¿préstame esta goma?

Request for Permission .... solicit permission to perform an action; e.g., Miss Jones, can I finish this?

Yes/No Questions .... solicit affirmation or negation of the propositional content of the addressor's utterance; e.g., Are we leaving now?

Rhetorical Questions .... solicit a listener's acknowledgment to allow speaker to continue; e.g., Did I collect this one? All of them. I'll tell you right now.

Hesitation Questions .... answer a question with another question, showing hesitation and insecurity; e.g., Here .... living room?

Table 23

Number and Percentage of Questions Asked Per Child in the Classroom

ENGLISH

Child	Paula		Ana		Carmen		José		Juanita		César		Total Number of Questions Used by All Children	
Level	5		5		5		3		1-2		1			
	Total Use: 52		Total Use: 58		Total Use: 54		Total Use: 11		Total Use: 1		Total Use: 3		Total Use 179	
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%
Req. Info.	17	32.7	22	37.9	26	48.1	3	27.3	1	100	1	35.3	70	39.1
Req. Clarif.	3	5.8	13	22.4	7	13	3	27.3	--	--	--	--	26	14.5
Req. Permis.	--	--	11	19	8	14.8	--	--	--	--	1	35.3	20	11.2
Req. Approv.	1	1.9	--	--	4	7.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	2.8
Yes/No Ques.	10	19.2	9	15.5	6	11.1	1	9.1	--	--	1	33.1	27	15.1
Req. Action	3	5.8	2	3.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	2.8
Rhet. Ques.	8	15.4	1	1.7	3	5.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	12	6.7
Hesi. Ques	10	19.2	--	--	--	--	4	36.3	--	--	--	--	14	7.8

Tables 23 and 24 list the number and percentages of questions used by the six children in the classroom (1979 for English and 159 for Spanish).

Table 24

Number and Percentage of Questions Asked Per Child in the Classroom

SPANISH

Child	Paula		Juanita		César		José		Ana		Carmen		Total Number of Questions Used by All Children	
Level	5		5		5		3		2		1		Total Use: 159	
	Total Use: 2		Total Use: 49		Total Use: 67		Total Use: 39		Total Use: 0		Total Use: 0			
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%
Req. Info.	--	--	29	59.2	33	47.8	13	33.3	--	--	--	--	75	47.2
Req. Clarif.	--	--	2	4.1	4	5.8	10	25.6	--	--	--	--	16	10.1
Req. Permis.	--	--	1	2.0	2	2.9	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	1.9
Req. Approv.	--	--	2	4.1	6	8.7	4	10.3	--	--	--	--	12	7.5
Yes/No Ques.	2	100	13	26.5	21	30.4	3	7.7	--	--	--	--	39	24.4
Req. Action	--	--	--	--	3	4.4	7	17.9	--	--	--	--	10	6.3
Rhet. Ques.	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	5.2	--	--	--	--	2	1.3
Hesi. Ques.	--	--	2	4.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	1.3

Table 25

Number and Percentage of Questions Asked Per Child in Informal Settings

ENGLISH

Child	Paula		Ana		Carmen		José		Juanita		César		Total Number of Questions Used by All Children	
Level	5		5		5		3		2		1			
	Total Use: 21		Total Use: 16		Total Use: 10		Total Use: 3		Total Use: 4		Total Use:9		Total Use 63	
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%
Req. Info.	12	57.1	6	37.5	1	10	3	100	3	75	6	67	31	49.2
Req. Clarif.	1	4.7	3	18.7	3	30	--	--	--	--	1	11	8	12.7
Req. Permis.	2	9.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	11	3	4.8
Req. Approv.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	25	--	--	1	1.6
Yes/No Ques.	5	23.8	6	37.5	4	40	--	--	--	--	1	11	16	25.3
Req. Action	1	4.7	1	6.2	2	20	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	6.3
Rhet. Ques.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Hesi. Ques	--	--	--	--	--	--			--	--	--	--	--	--

Tables 25 and 26 include the number and percentage of questions asked in other informal settings: at home, at the park, and during a picnic. In these informal contexts 63 questions were asked in English and 154 were used in Spanish.

Table 26

Number and Percentage of Questions Asked Per Child in Informal Settings

SPANISH

Child	Paula		Juanita		César		José		Ana		Carmen		Total Number of Questions Used by All Children	
Level	5		5		5		3		1-2		1		Total Use 154	
	Total Use: 14		Total Use: 83		Total Use: 34		Total Use: 22		Total Use: 2		Total Use: 0			
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%
Req. Info.	6	43	17	20.5	20	--	9	41	--	--	--	--	52	33.7
Req. Clarif.	1	7	4	4.8	7	--	7	32	--	--	--	--	19	12.3
Req. Permis.	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	9	--	--	--	--	2	1.2
Req. Approv.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes/No Ques.	7	50	57	68.7	6	--	4	18	1	100	--	--	75	4.9
Req. Action	--	--	4	4.8	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	3.2
Rhet. Ques.	--	--	1	1.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	0.6
Hesi. Ques.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		

Frequency by language and proficiency. A frequency count of the questions in the data corpus demonstrates that questions occur more often in the language in which the child is more proficient. The children who were more proficient in Spanish showed the following distribution: Juanita: Spanish 132, English 5; César: Spanish 103, English 12. The English dominant children also questioned more in English than in Spanish. Ana asked 74 questions in English and only two in Spanish, while Carmen asked 64 questions in English and none in Spanish. Although Paula and José were rated as having equal proficiency in both languages, level 5 for the former and level 3 for the latter, they still showed a preference for one language over another when questioning. Paula made 73 questions in English and 16 in Spanish while José made 14 in English. Paula's high frequency of English questions may be explained by the fact that she spends most of her time with Anglo-American students. José, on the other hand, socializes more with the LEP students in the class and is not well accepted by the English speaking students.

Formal contexts (classroom). An analysis of classroom questioning patterns showed that requests for information had the highest frequency of occurrence in both languages in the classroom (39.1% for English and 47.2% for Spanish), followed by yes/no questions (15.1% for English and 24.4% for Spanish). Requests for permission, requests for clarification, and rhetorical questions had a higher incidence of occurrence among children who were more proficient in English (see Table 22).

After comparing the types of questions asked according to levels of proficiency, it was found that in the formal classroom context, in English as well as in Spanish, children asked more information questions followed

by yes/no questions. The third most frequently used type of request in this context was requests for approval (in Spanish), and permission requests (in English).

All of the Spanish questions in formal contexts were asked by José. If we compare his production of questions with those of students who are level 5 (in Spanish), we find that his ordering by frequency is: (1) Information questions (33%), (2) Requests for clarification (25.6%), and (3) Requests for action (17.9%). In English formal contexts, once again José accounts for most of the requests (73.3%), since César (level 1) asked three questions in English, and Juanita (level 2) only one of them. José's ordering of the requests were as follows: (1) Hesitation questions (36.1%), (2) Requests for clarification (27.2%), and for information (27.2%). We can infer from these data that children who are at levels 1 - 3 have more comprehension than production in terms of requests. Although José appears to have asked more questions than all the students who are at levels 1 - 3 in English, we see that most of his requests are hesitation questions (36.1%) which shows his linguistic insecurity. With regard to Spanish, however, José demonstrates more competence in terms of his knowledge and repertoire of questioning strategies. The data also demonstrate that there is a considerable difference between level 5 and levels 1 - 2 in terms of the level of interaction. Level 1 - 2 students asked only four questions in both languages, out of a total of 338 requests which were recorded in formal contexts.

It needs to be pointed out that the reason some of the children asked certain types of questions in one of the two languages may be due to the existing classroom structure. The limited English proficiency (LEP) students in this sample were perhaps involuntarily isolated from the rest of

the students most of the time. They generally worked in small group situations with the teacher aide, and the interaction tended to be in Spanish. Even when the groups were reading in English, the children asked the teacher aide questions in Spanish to which she also replied in Spanish.

At the same time, there is a tendency to group those students who are equally proficient in both languages with English monlingual students. This was the case with Paula who was the most balanced bilingual of the group and was always assigned to work with the English monolingual students. It may be that her opportunities to maintain and improve her Spanish proficiency were curtailed while she continued to develop her proficiency in English

Types of activities. We related the types of questions asked to the types of activities in which the children were engaged to see if there were any types of questions that were asked more frequently in one situational context than another. Tables 27, 28, and 29 show the types of questions asked according to the type of activity: Language Arts, Reading, Math, and Art in English, Spanish and both languages respectively. Another category included here is informal talk. The category of "informal talk" as defined before (see page 50) is less formal than the type of interaction which occurs during a structured activity dealing with Reading or Math, but is more formal than the interactions recorded in typically informal settings, such as playing at home or at the park. It occurred mainly when students were interacting among themselves in the classroom.

With regard to the total percentage of questions used in the different categories (see Table 29), we find that the ordering is as follows: Language Arts (39%), Informal Talk (21.3%), Art (20.1%),

Table 27

Types of Questions According to Types of Activities in the Classroom

SPANISH

	LANGUAGE ARTS		READING		MATH		ART		INFORMAL TALK (Breaks, Classroom cleaning, etc.)		TOTAL	
	Total Use: 94		Total Use: 13		Total Use: 12		Total Use: 18		Total Use: 22		Total Use: 152	
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	% per category
Req. Info.	46	48.9	9	69.2	5	20	4	22.2	11	50.0	75	7.2
Req. Clarif.	11	11.7	1	7.7	--	--	3	16.7	1	4.5	16	1.1
Req. Permis.	1	1.1	--	--	1	20	--	--	1	4.5	3	1.9
Req. Approv.	6	6.4	1	7.7	--	--	4	22.2	1	4.5	12	7.5
Yes/No Ques.	24	25.5	2	15.4	6	60	--	--	7	32.0	39	24.4
Req. Action	3	3.2	--	--	--	--	6	33.3	1	4.5	10	6.3
Rhet. Ques.	1	1.1	--	--	--	--	1	5.6	--	--	2	1.3
Hesi. Ques.	2	2.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	1.3

Table 28

Types of Questions According to Types of Activities in the Classroom

ENGLISH

	LANGUAGE ARTS		READING		MATH		ART		INFORMAL TALK (Breaks, Classroom cleaning, etc.)		TOTAL	
	Total Use: 38		Total Use: 16		Total Use: 25		Total Use: 50		Total Use: 50		Total Use: 179	
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	% per category
Req. Info.	19	50	5	31.2	13	52	17	34	16	32	70	39.1
Req. Clarif.	6	15.8	2	12.5	6	24	11	22	1	2	26	14.5
Req. Permis.	--	--	1	6.3	--	--	8	16	11	22	20	11.2
Req. Approv.	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	4	8	5	2,8
Yes/No Ques.	3	7.9	6	37.5	3	12	7	14	8	16	27	15.1
Req. Action	1	2.6	--	--	2	8	2	4	--	--	5	2.8
Rhet. Ques.	1	2.6	--	--	1	4	4	8	6	12	10	6.7
Hesi. Ques.	8	21.1	2	12.4	--	--	--	--	4	8	14	7.8

Table 29

Types of Questions According to Types of Activities in the Classroom

TOTAL

	LANGUAGE ARTS		READING		MATH		ART		INFORMAL TALK (Breaks, Classroom cleaning, etc.)		TOTAL	
	Total Use: 132		Total Use: 29		Total Use: 37		Total Use: 68		Total Use: 72		Total Use: 338	
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	% per category
Req. Info.	65	49.2	14	48.3	18	48.6	21	30.9	27	37.5	145	42.9
Req. Clarif.	17	12.9	3	10.4	6	16.3	14	20.6	2	2.8	42	12.4
Req. Permis.	1	.8	1	3.4	1	2.7	8	11.8	12	16.7	23	6.8
Req. Approv.	6	4.5	1	3.4	--	--	5	7.3	5	6.9	17	5.0
Yes/No Ques.	27	20.5	8	27.6	9	24.3	7	10.3	15	20.8	66	19.5
Req. Action	4	3.0	--	--	2	5.4	8	11.8	1	1.4	15	4.5
Rhet. Ques.	2	1.5	--	--	1	2.7	5	7.3	6	8.3	14	4.2
Hesi. Ques.	10	7.6	2	6.9	--	--	--	--	4	5.6	16	4.7

Math (10.9%), and Reading (8.6%), which are more structured, teacher-directed activities.

When we examine the types of questions that occur the most during the different activities, we find that the majority of the requests for information were asked during the Language Arts activities (49.2%), whereas the majority of the yes/no questions occurred during Reading activities (27.2%). Activities dealing with Art account for the highest percentage of Requests for clarification (20.6%), Requests for Approval (7.3%), and Requests for Action (11.8%). The majority of the Requests for Permission (16.7%) and of Rhetorical questions (8.3%) occurred during the informal talk interaction.

Not all utterances were composed of full propositions. Many questions consist of only one word requests for clarification, such as "huh?" which is a recurrent pattern in children with low proficiency. This pattern was observed frequently with Ana when she tried to have a conversation with one of the researchers in Spanish.

Some of the questions were ambiguous. Yes/no questions seemed similar on certain occasion to requests for approval, and requests for information could also have been coded as imbedded imperatives. However, after looking at the context, the real function of the utterance became clear, as in the following example, in which the question is a request for action rather than a request for information:

César: ¿Tienes lápiz grande?
(Do you have a big pencil?) (waits for pencil)
Préstaselo a José.
(Let José use it.)

Arturo: No sabía que eras su amigo tantito.
(I didn't know you were his friend.)

César: Tantico nomás. Préstaselo pa cer el work y más na.
(Just for few minutes. Let him use it to work and nothing else.)

(F1-2)

Rhetorical questions seem to be a more sophisticated level of language use. The majority of the rhetorical questions in English were used by students who had a high level of proficiency in that language, e.g.,

Paula: These are my pencils.
Mimi: One is mine.
Paula: That's .. How am I going to erase them?
Mimi, could I have your eraser?

(E8-3)

It is obvious from the preceeding example that the addressor does not expect to get an answer to her question (How am I going to erase them?) and thus, continues with the next request for action. An interesting kind of discourse pattern occurs when questions are used to answer other questions when speakers do not want to commit themselves to a deinite answer, e.g.,

T: How would you feel about this friend of yours telling your teacher?
Paula: Sad?
T: What would you want to do with that friend?
Paula: Beat him?

(E8-B)

These types of answers are particularly noticeable in the speech of José, a very low proficiency speaker in English, when he tries to communicate in that language, e.g.,

T: José, tell me where are these people going to sleep
José: Here ... living room?
T: Okay. No, in the bedroom.

(A2-1)

T: Where did you put your milk?

Jose: In here.

T: What's that?

Jose: The refrigerator?

(A2-2)

The speaker's answering of a question with another question can also be interpreted as a need for reassurance.

José's hesitation and insecurity in answering in English was increased by the attitude of the teacher who often ignored his questions continued to speak without paying attention to him. Furthermore, he did not seem to be accepted by the rest of his classmates who felt that his Spanish discourse relied too heavily on lexical items which they did not consider appropriate for classroom interactions. Theywould regularly laugh at him when he made mistakes which contributed to his feeling of insecurity and to his hesitating questions, e.g.,

T: But this here is a rug. It's on the ....

José: Rug? (Everybody laughs; José looks embarrassed.)

T: It's on the floor. The rug is on the floor.

Although Paula also used this pattern in her discourse once in a while, her answers marked by intonation did not produce the same derisive reaction as José's, because Paula was a leader in the class due to her high proficiency in both languages.

One can see then that the same types of questions are asked in both languages, although children who are more proficient in English seem to have access to a greater variety of questioning strategies. In addition, the type of setting or activity will influence the language in which the

questions are asked and, consequently, in a bilingual class children have to be given an opportunity to work in different groups so that they are not isolated from acquiring a richer language experience.

Informal contexts. Data on questions asked in informal settings were also extracted from the transcripts. These data come from child-child interactions which occurred in three types of informal settings: at home, playing at the park, and interacting during a picnic attended by all the children.

A total of 237 questions were coded in the informal settings. As previously noted, Tables 25 and 26 list the number and percentage of questions asked per child in these informal contexts, in both English and Spanish. As was evidenced in the formal contexts, requests for information showed the highest frequency of occurrence in both English (49.2%) and Spanish (33.7%), followed by yes/no questions (25.3% for English and 49% for Spanish). In Spanish as well as in English, no hesitation questions were recorded in this setting. In both languages, the lowest frequency of occurrence were shared by requests for approval (1.6% in English, and 0% in Spanish), and requests for permission (4.8% in English and 1.2% in Spanish).

If one compares questions asked in English in formal and informal settings one sees that the ordering is the same: (1) requests for information, (2) yes/no questions, and (3) requests for clarification. With regard to questions asked in Spanish, however, the highest percentage of questions were yes/no questions, followed by requests for information, and by requests for clarification. No hesitation questions were recorded in informal settings, and the lowest frequency of occurrence was shared between requests for permission and rhetorical questions.

An examination of the types of questions asked in informal settings according to levels of proficiency shows again that there is a big difference between the competence demonstrated by level 5 students compared with the one exhibited by students who are at the 1 - 3 levels of language proficiency in both languages. Students at higher proficiency levels exhibited a higher frequency of questions and a wider range of questions.

In informal contexts, level 5 students used 131 questions in Spanish as opposed to 23 questions asked by level 1 - 3 students. In English informal contexts, level 5 students used 47 questions whereas level 1 - 3 students used only 16. It is important to point out that the higher percentage of questions used in Spanish is due to the fact that Juanita (level 5) was taped at her home playing with siblings and friends for a longer period of time than the rest of the students. Eighty three of the 154 questions in Spanish were asked by her (53.9%) (see Table 26).

With regard to the types of questions used in informal settings, the ordering of the questions asked in Spanish by level 5 students was as follows: (1) Yes/No questions, (2) Information questions, and (3) Requests for clarification. Students who are at level 1 - 3 use a higher percentage of information questions followed by requests for clarification and by yes/no questions.

When level 5 students asked questions in English in informal contexts the ordering was as follows: (1) information questions, (2) yes/no questions, and (3) requests for clarification. Students who are at levels 1 - 3 used the highest percentage of information questions (75% in all contexts). The rest of the types of questions are distributed equally (6.2% for all of them) (see Table 25).

In comparing the use of questions across settings we find that requests for information have the highest frequency of occurrence in both languages in all contexts, followed by yes/no questions and by requests for information. Requests for permission have a higher percentage of occurrence (13.1%) in formal contexts than in informal ones (6%), perhaps due to the fact that in formal contexts those questions were addressed to the teacher. The same can be said for requests for approval (10.4% in formal contexts as opposed to 1.6% in informal settings).

Use Of Directives

Rationale and problem. The speech acts known as directives or requests for action were also chosen as the focus of this investigation rather than other types of speech acts because like questions they occur frequently among children, often lead to action, are easy to identify and vary according to the social situation and the setting (Ervin-Tripp, 1977).

Since the range of directives goes from the explicit imperative to questions and hints, the competent speaker of a speech community must be able to identify directives whose surface form and function differ. Thus, when one of the target children says to one of her peers in an informal interaction "Hay que limpiar" (We or somebody has to clean up), she is not making a statement but hinting to the hearer that something needs to be done. This is a request stated in an indirect manner. The hearer in this case has knowledge of the function of the utterance and thus is able to interpret the declarative sentence as a directive.

The types of directives which will be used in this study fulfil different semantic functions for speakers as Ervin-Tripp has pointed out:

> Statements allow the listener not to respond verbally at all; interrogatives allow the non-compliant listener to reinterpret the directive as an information questions; imbedded imperatives allow the compliant listener to reply as if he had acted voluntarily. Indirection protects both parties from the embarrassment in explicit non-compliance. (Ervin-Tripp, 1976, p. 51)

Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan (1977) have examined the use of directives among a group of black American children within an age range of 7 to 12 years. The research focused on the social distribution of directive types used by the children. The data base consisted of directives used in role playing situations and examples from other more natural types of interactions. Of a total of 261 directives recorded, 15 were statements of need, and the majority were imperatives. The study concludes that the children studied had acquired all the conventional directive forms proposed by Ervin-Tripp (1977) for adult American English. No differences in age were found with regard to the children's ability to use the various types of directives. The children were also aware of the relationship between social factors and use of directives according to different settings and situations. Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan (1977) point out that the high percentage of imperatives used in the role-playing situations was in part a function of the situations portrayed in the role-play, and the type of interpersonal functions that the directives were intended to serve.

In order to demonstrate communicative competence children must then be able to identify and comprehend as directives utterances that may have other surface forms, and be able to select from a large repertoire those forms that have situational appropriateness.

Data and discussion. In this part of the study we are focusing on the repertoire of directives used by the six target children who were at different levels of proficiency in English and Spanish. The data come primarily from child-child interactions in the classroom (in structured and unstructured situations), and outside the classroom (at home playing with other children, during a visit to a park and during a picnic).

After examining the interactions, a total of 506 directives were coded in the total data corpus. Table 30 lists the types of directives

Table 30

Repertoire of Directives and Examples of Communicative Intentions and Their Meaning

Need Statements	. . . .	Requests for action directed primarily to subordinates; e.g., I want to sweep the room; Oh man, I need a pencil.
Imperatives	. . . .	Requests for action directed to familiar peers or subordinates; e.g., Stop, she is listening; Vete para allá.
Imbedded Imperatives	. . . .	Requests for action directed often to unfamiliar people or people of higher rank. These are usually used with titles, address terms, popstponed tags like OK and could you, and mitigated forms such as 'please'; e.g., Would you put the cards in that?; No te los comas today, Luci, okay?
Permission directives	. . . .	Requests for action directed primarily to people of a higher rank in formal situations; e.g., May I see that book? ¿Puedo ver eso?
Question directives	. . . .	Requests for action in which often the agent of the speech act is omitted, so that misunderstanding is possible because the resulting form is the same as an information question; e.g., Do you have the time?
Hints	. . . .	Requests for action which require inference. Speakers must share rules in structured situations, and an understanding of habits and motives in less structured settings; e.g., I don't understand this; Hay que limpiar.

taken from a taxonomy developed by Ervin-Tripp (1976, 1977). It also includes the codes, definitions, and examples of each type of directive. We can see from this table that the target children have access to the majority of the types of directives which have been observed in other studies (Ervin-Tripp, 1977; Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan, 1977), that is, the repertoire does not only include the obvious imperatives or direct commands as well, such as imbedded imperatives, questions directives, and hints.

The most common types of directives across all children studied in this project were: (1) explicit imperatives, and (2) imbedded imperatives which were used to express imperative intent. Explicit imperatives are the most obvious kind of directive which normally includes a verb, and, if it is transitive, an object and sometimes a beneficiary, i.e., Wait!, Stop it!, Tráelo! There are occasions in which elliptical forms are uttered when the action requested is obvious to the speaker and the hearer, i.e., Cream and sugar (Coffee with cream and sugar); Aquí (Ponlo aquí).

Embedded imperatives are directives in which the requested act is preceded by an introductory phrase, i.e., Would you hand me that?, Por favor, tráemelo. Understanding the type of situation and setting is basic here as Ervin-Tripp (1977) points out. If one asks: Can you swim? Inside a room this will be interpreted as a yes/no questions. However, the same question asked by a swimming pool can be interpreted as a request for action.

A number and per cent count of the directives data (Tables 31, 32, 33, 34) demonstrates that directives occur most often in the language in which the

Table 31

Number and Percentage of Directives Used by Child in the Classroom

ENGLISH

Child	Paula		Ana		Carmen		José		Juanita		César		Total Number of Directives Used Across Children	
Level	5		5		5		3		2		1			
	Total Use: 33		Total Use: 32		Total Use: 21		Total Use: 3		Total Use: 1		Total Use:2		Total Use 93	
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%
Need Statement	3	10	8	25	2	9.5							13	13.9
Imperatives	21	60	16	50	16	76.2	3	100	1	100	2	100	59	63.4
Imbedded Imp.	10	30	4	12.5	2	9.5							16	17.2
Permis. Dir.			2	6.2									2	2.1
Ques. Dir.														
Hints			2	6.2	1	4.8							3	3.2

Table 32

Number and Percentage of Directives Used by Child in the Classroom

SPANISH

Child	Paula		Juanita		César		José		Ana		Carmen		Total Number of Directives Used Across Children	
Level	5		5		5		3		1-2		1			
	Total Use: 13		Total Use: 2		Total Use: 11		Total Use: 13		Total Use: 0		Total Use: 0		Total Use 39	
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%
Need Statement														
Imperative	12	92.3	2	100	3	27.3	10	76.9					27	69.2
Imbedded Imp.	1	7.6			7	63.6	2	15.3					10	25.6
Permis. Dir.														
Ques. Dir.							1	7.8					1	2.5
Hints					1	9							1	2.5

Table 33

Number and Percentage of Directives Used by Child in Informal Settings

ENGLISH

Child	Paula		Ana		Carmen		José		Juanita		César		Total Number of Directives Used Across Children	
Level	5		5		5		3		2		1			
	Total Use: 20		Total Use: 13		Total Use: 40		Total Use: 7		Total Use: 32		Total Use: 3		Total Use 115	
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%
Need Statement					2	5							2	1.7
Imperative	17	85	10	77	31	77.5	7	100	28	87.5	3	100	96	83.5
Imbedded Imp.	2	10	2	15.4	6	15			3	9.3			13	11.3
Permis. Dir.														
Ques. Dir.	1	5	1	7.6									2	1.7
Hints					1	25			1	3.1			2	1.7

Table 34

Number and Percentage of Directives Used by Child in Informal Settings

SPANISH

Child	Paula		Juanita		Cesar		Jose		Ana		Carmen		Total Number of Directives Used Across Children	
Level	5		5		5		3		1-2		1			
	Total Use: 5		Total Use: 231		Total Use: 14		Total Use: 7		Total Use: 1		Total Use: 1		Total Use 259	
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%
Need Statement			1	0.4									1	0.3
Imperatives	4	80	169	73.2	14	100	7	100					194	74.9
Imbedded Imp.			54	23.4					1	100	1	100	56	21.6
Permis. Dir.														
Ques. Dir.	1	20	4	1.7									5	1.9
Hints			3	1.3									3	1.1

child is more proficient. The number of directives used by each child is influenced by an additional factor which needs to be taken into account which is the type of activity in which the children are engaged. The number of Spanish directives used by Juanita for example (n = 231) is considerably higher than those used by the rest of the subjects. The interactions at home in which Juanita was involved were predominantly games in which she was the leader (playing house, playing school, etc.), and this accounted for the very high percentage of different types of directives which were used. Furthermore, Juanita has a very strong personality and is accustomed to ordering friends to do things at school as she does with her younger brother and sisters at home.

One hundred and thirty-two directives were used during the classroom interaction in both languages (39 in Spanish and 93 in English). In English as well as in Spanish, imperatives and imbedded imperatives accounted for the majority of the directives used by the children. The lowest frequency of occurrence were shared by permission directives (2.1%) and question directives (2.5%). Need statements had also a low frequency of occurence. None were used in Spanish while 13 were used in English.

Of the 374 directives used in informal settings, once again the same pattern emerges: imperatives had a frequency of occurrence of 77.5%, and imbedded imperatives were used 18.4% of the time. No permission directives were used at all in any of the two languages, and the rest of the three types of directives (need statements, question directives and hints) had a similar low frequency of occurrence in both languages.

In examining the use of directives according to levels of proficiency, we find again that directives are used in the language in which the child is more proficient. Level 5 students, for example, used a total of 93 directives in English, whereas students at English levels 1 - 3 used only six English directives. A similar pattern can be observed in Spanish. Students at levels 1 - 3 used 13 directives as opposed to 26 used by level 5 students. All of the 13 directives for level 1 - 3 children were actually only used by José (level 3). Thus, children at levels 1 - 2 in Spanish did not produce directives in the second language, and those who were at levels 1 - 3 in English used only direct imperatives. Direct commands account also for 76.9% of the directive forms used by José.

Judging from the types of questions and directives exhibited by the six target children in their spontaneous speech and in their formal interactions in the classroom, one can say that they have receptive competence in all of the conventional forms that questions and directives may take in English and Spanish. This includes two functional dimensions: the identification and comprehension of questions and directives, and the selection of these speech acts which are appropriate to the social situation in which they are a part.

In terms of actual production of the wide range of questioning strategies and directive form, such as that one described for monolingual speakers (Dore, 1977; Ervin-Tripp, 1977; Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan, 1977; Peck, 1978), it varies according to the levels of language proficiency students possessed in each language. The data consistently show that students who are at level 5 proficiency ask more questions and use more directives than those who are at lower levels of proficiency in English and Spanish.

Furthermore, developmental factors may account for the low frequency of occurrence of more complex types of questions and directives, such as rhetorical questions and hints.

There are other factors that influence the number and type of these speech acts used: the context of the interaction, the social situation and the type of audience present during the interaction. In effect, the number and type of questions will depend on the type of activities in which the children are engaged. In the classroom, for example, more questions are asked during language arts and art than during math and reading, which were more structured, teacher-directed activities.

In the case of children which show low proficiency in both languages (such as José) there may be other extra-linguistic factors that need to be explored to explain their low levels of proficiency in both languages. Our data show that, for José, low expectations on the part of the teacher and teacher aide result in less participation by José in classroom activities. The data show that there is a recurrent pattern where José is ignored by the teacher and the teacher aide who prefer to call on other students. This fact, as well as his passive personality traits, may account for some aspects of José's actual linguistic production.

It is important to point out that the students who are at lower levels of proficiency in English (José, Juanita and César) spent a great percentage of their class time learning language arts which was taught by the Hispanic teacher aide, and thus their interaction tended to be in Spanish. This social factor may explain in part their low production of English forms. These children also interacted mainly with other Spanish dominant children and had few opportunities to try out their developing English

skills in the classroom context. There is a similar situation with the high English - low Spanish students (Carmen and Ana) who interacted most of the time among themselves or with the Anglo teacher, and thus had fewer opportunities to try out their developing competence in Spanish. There is a need to examine this recurrent interactional pattern of perhaps involuntary segregation and give low-proficiency students an opportunity to mix more with students who are at higher levels of proficiency in the second language. This integrative approach is especially needed for those students, such as Paula, who are at present equally proficient in both languages, so that they are helped to develop and maintain both languages.

Implications For Educational Research

Findings from this study have important implications for further research. First of all, it shows a need to develop test constructs which are integrative, and based on what children can do rather than what adults expect them to do. To this end, more research is needed to explore children's language use both in formal and informal natural settings. The present study is an initial step in this direction and is not conclusive in regard to the specifics of the most appropriate manner to use new test constructs in order to test language proficiency.

From the previous statements, it is evident that before any new constructs are developed or conceptualized, the concept of language proficiency should be redefined, in terms of the type of proficiency needed (i.e., proficiency to succeed in school vs. proficiency to succeed in every-day life) more analytical research in this area is needed.

Discourse analysis involving form and function in children's language use in formal and informal settings should be emphasized in future research

and should be related to language proficiency and language development in bilingual settings, so that new knowledge concerning the language used by bilingual children in different situational contexts may be explored further.

More studies in the area of children's language use for different purposes and involving different speech acts (negations, questions, etc.) among children at different levels of proficiency and with larger populations are necessary to improve the state of the art in this area.

It is necessary to explore in depth the community's attitudes toward English and Spanish and toward bilingual education. What effect would these attitudes have on the outcomes of bilingual programs as they relate to children learning English, maintaining Spanish and being able to achieve at grade level in an English classroom? It is necessary to look at the relationship among the variables described above within individual families. In addition, variables such as language preference at home and length of stay in the U.S.A. should be examined to see how they influence the rate of second language learning in Hispanic children who attend American schools.

In terms of implications for bilingual education per se, this study found that current tests used to assess language proficiency only tap a very small part of the bilingual child's linguistic repertoire. These qualitative findings seem to correspond with more quantitative information reported in the Executive Summary of the Report of the National Institute of Education on the Testing and Assessment of the Title VI Language Minority Proposed Rules (NIE, 1981). The Executive Summary states that the current tests used to measure language proficiency seem to assess different aspects of language such as syntax, phonology, lexicon and do not accurately predict

the speaker's ability to communicate in a language. This brings up the issue of re-defining the concept of language proficiency. What type of language proficiency should bilingual education try to enhance in non-English speaking children? Should it be proficiency necessary to succeed in school, or proficiency to succeed in life?

The study shows a need to look at the form as well as the function of language when determining language proficiency. Bilingual programs need to use more integrative, multifaceted tests (multiple sub-tests) for measuring communicative competence in bilingual students. As shown in the predictability section of this report, communicative skills are good predictors of communicative competence and, as such, should be used more widely than they are at present to determine language proficiency.

Another important educational implication of the study is that those designing bilingual programs need to learn more about the community from which the students come. Educators need to become aware of the community's attitudes concerning language use in different settings and language preferences so as to provide the community with a bilingual program which is congruent with the linguistic values in the area.

Conclusion

Language proficiency has been the single most important factor in determining student participation, language of instruction and program design in bilingual education settings. The concept of language proficiency, though, has not been well defined, and this has given rise to multiple interpretations as to the real meaning of the concept. A current report from NIE (1981) shows that tests of language proficiency commonly used

in bilingual programs measure different aspects of language and as such the series and levels assigned by these tests are usually unrelated.

The perspective which is presented in this study is that currently-used tests may have been measuring aspects of language which are irrelevant to actual children's language occurring in natural settings; these tests appear to be too narrow in scope when considering the language proficiency of the students. As it is now, a large amount of the target children's language production is omitted in the assessment of communicative skills by conventional methods.

The study presented in this report is a qualitative sociolinguistic view of: 1) what third grade children at different levels of proficiency in both L1 and L2 can do lingusitically, 2) how the children's linguistic performance relates to the language use and attitudes of the community at large, 3) how the children's language repertoire collected at home and school correlates with what current, widely used tests measure and 4) how the analysis of children's language use in natural settings can lead to new ideas about testing constructs which may be more relevant to children's communicative skills and, ultimately, their need for bilingual education.

The subjects of the study were six Hispanic students attending a self-contained bilingual program. Each student presented a different language proficiency profile in both Spanish and English in terms of the proficiency levels as described by De Avila (1976).

A qualitative study of this nature would be incomplete if we looked only at the children in the school setting. It is important to look at children as participants in interactions in different contexts (home and school) and with different people (teacher, classmates, siblings.) It is

for this reason that, through observations and questionnaires, at home and at school, an ethnography of how the school, the classroom and the community at large may contribute to the children's actual language behavior is included in the study.

In the classroom, it was discovered that, although children had a lot of freedom of speech and movement, the LEP (low English proficiency) children were placed together for most of the school day, while Hispanic children, once they attained high English proficiency, were seated in the classroom only with English speakers. This classroom format may hinder the LEP children from learning English and it may cause the balanced bilingual subjects to lose proficiency in L1 (Spanish).

In terms of the community ethnographic study carried out across three age groups (10-20 years old, 21-40 years old and 40+), it provided the researchers with some background information on the community's language use and attitudes toward language and bilingual education. We also found that the parents of the target children studied were in the 21-40 year old category. These data show, for example, that children's proficiency in L2 may be determined by language use preferences and attitudes toward L2 at home and in the community. In children who have been successful in L2 learning, in spite of L1 being the most important language at home, it seems as if besides personality factors, the parents' attitudes toward L2 and length of stay in the U.S.A. have been the influential factors on their learning of English.

In terms of the relationship between currently used tests and the children's natural language repertoire collected, the data discussed here show that measures of communicative skills are better predictors of

language proficiency levels than tests which measure mainly formal aspects of language. This finding corroborates results described by Savignon (1972), Upshur and Palmer (1974) and Tucker (1974).

When reviewing the relationship between the language used by children and the language measured by two widely-used tests of language proficiency, it was found that when the two tests were used (one measuring vocabulary, the other measuring syntax) to analyze students' language, only a minimal part of the students' total repertoire was taken into account in that analysis.

Finally, in an attempt to introduce new ideas for more comprehensive ways of looking at language proficiency and determining communicative competence levels in children attending bilingual programs, an analysis of the children's use of questions and directives in relation to their language proficiency and context was carried out using adaptations of previous taxonomies developed by Ervin-Tripp (1977) and Dore (1978). In general, it was found that children usually produce more questions and/or directives in the language in which they feel more comfortable and that all children have access to and use a large repertoire of question and directives forms in either Spanish or English. The use of certain forms or functions in questions and directives occur in a specific language only when the child is proficient in it.

This study is but the beginning of an attempt to find ways to measure language proficiency in a way that is relevant to children's actual language use and which includes a greater proportion of their natural repertoire. It is the authors' view that tests currently in use are mainly based on adult expectations of what children have to do to be assigned to a certain level of proficiency. However, we believe that new test constructs should

be based on what children can actually do in natural settings. In general, there is a great need to define language proficiency in terms of the goals which bilingual education is supposed to meet. As such, it is necessary to find out whether we are looking at language for success in school and/or in life. In regard to new testing constructs, it is necessary to think in terms of more integrative and/or multipart tests which will measure form as well as function in language.

Findings of this study are not conclusive. More qualitative studies of the use of specific forms or functions of language (i.e., use of negations, code switching) are needed. It is important, too, to explore whether any discriminant factors in language use found from these qualitative studies are commonly found in large populations of children. In this way more valid generalizations can be made in regard to these factors and, at the same time, it will facilitate the determination of reliability and validity in new tests to be developed.

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Footnotes

1. Information provided by school district according to their records as of September 30, 1980.
2. Information provided by school district according to count taken on May 1, 1981.
3. Hispanic and Latino are terms used interchangeably throughout this report. Both terms refer to individuals of Spanish descent and are commonly used interchangeably in the Midwest.
4. Information provided by school district according to the 1980 U.S. Census.

Appendix A

English Proficiency Levels -- Explanation

Proficiency Level I. The students in this group do not speak, understand, or write English, but some may know a few isolated words or expressions.

Proficiency Level II. This group includes children with little knowledge of English. The speakers in this category often have great difficulty in comprehending and speaking English. Consequently, attempts at elicitation often are met with silence, a repetition of the questions or gestures (pointing, nodding, etc.).

Proficiency Level III. Speakers in this group have difficulty comprehending many things in the English language. Elicitations of many types of constructions frequently will be met with silence or repetitions of what has been said. However, they are sufficiently in control of the language to communicate, using poorly formed syntactic constructions. Although these children may occasionally produce good phrases and simple sentences, they generally will fail to provide a noun with the proper preceding article, be unable to manage agreement between subject and verb because of the inability to make the appropriate correlations between person, number gender, and subject-object forms for pronouns, and will have difficulty distinguishing singular and plural forms of nouns. Difficulty with the auxiliary verb is most evident in this range. Omission of the verb, (especially forms of "be") is also characteristic of this group of speakers. These speakers have been exposed to the major sound system in English and to the basic syntactic structures. They are usually at the Pre-primer stage in literary ability.

Proficiency level IV. Speakers in this group both comprehend and respond to English better than those in Level III. However, they often do not respond without the use of one of the prompting techniques. Although they tend to use a large number of poorly formed constructions, these deviant forms will alternate with their well-formed counterparts. Their language facility could be described as being in a state of flux. Their reading ability is usually 1 - 2 years below that of English speaking students. Thus, while they will continue to make the same general kinds of "mistakes" as those in Level III, they will not be making them so frequently. If these students are excluded at this state of their language development it would doom them to "failure." Therefore, they will continue to receive bilingual classes to insure continued academic growth and reinforcement.

Proficiency level V. This group includes competent English speakers. These speakers both comprehend and respond in English. They have internalized the rules for most well-formed constructions, and their syntactic lapses are relatively minor. These lapses are of the type that may persist into adult speech, marking them as slightly deviant by middle class standards. These speakers in many cases have been eliminated from bilingual or TESL classes, but require some other sort of supplementary language program. Examples of the kinds of syntactic lapses that occur among these speakers are mainly problems with the auxiliary verb and with the use of the negative. These students usually are reading close to or on grade level.

APPENDIX B

Language Proficiency Project

Family And Community Language Survey

Encuesta Sobre El Lenguaje De La Familia Y La Communidad

Column 1 - 3

Code Number

Please Circle The Number You Feel Closest To Your Answer:

(Por Favor Encierre En Un Círculo El Número Que Mejor Vaya Con Su Respuesta):

Column 4 - 5

Age (Edad)

1. Up to 20
2. 20 - 40
3. 41 and up

Column 6

I. Respondent (Persona que contesta el cuestionario):

1. Father
2. Mother
3. High School Student
4. Grade School Student
5. Relative of Student
6. Grandparents
7. Other

Column 7

II. Sex (Sexo)

1. Female (Mujer)
2. Male (Hombre)

Column 8

III. Place of birth (Lugar de nacimiento)

Country (País) _____

City/Town (Ciudad/Pueblo) _____

Code as:

1. U.S. Mainland
2. Mexico
3. Puerto Rico
4. Latin America
5. Spain
6. Other

Column 9

IV. Number of years in the United States?
¿Cuántos años hace que vive en los Estados Unidos?

1. Less than 6 months (Menos de 6 meses)
2. 6 months to 2 years (6 meses a 2 años)
3. 2.1 to 5 years (2.1 a 5 años)
4. 5.1 to 10 years (5.1 a 10 años)
5. 10.1 to 20 years (10.1 a 20 años)
6. All my life (Toda la vida)

Column 10 - 11

V. Where did you live before coming to Illinois?
¿Dónde vivía antes de venir a Illinois?

1. Mexico
2. Puerto Rico
3. Cuba
4. Texas
5. Florida
6. Southwest
7. New York
8. Latin America
9. Other (Otro) Specify (Especifique) _____

Column 12

VI. How many years of education have you completed?
¿Cuántos años asistió a la escuela?

1. None (Ninguno)
2. Elementary School (Escuela Elemental)
3. Jr. High School (Los dos primeros años de Secundaria)
4. High School (Escuela Secundaria)
5. College (Universidad)

Column 13

VII. What is your origin of descent?
¿Cuál es su origen etnico?

1. Chicano
2. Mexicano
3. Puertorriqueño
4. Cubano
5. Mexican-American
6. Anglo
7. Latino
8. American
9. Other (Otro) Specify (Especifique) _____

Column 14 - 15

VIII. What is your occupation?
¿En qué trabaja usted?

1. Unemployed (Sin empleo)
2. Housewife (Ama de casa)
3. Laborer (Empleado en fábrica o en el campo)
4. Maintenance (Mantenimiento, limpieza)
5. Sales (Vendedor/a)
6. Clerical (Oficina, tienda)
7. Nurse (Enfermero/a)
8. Teacher aide (Ayudante de Maestro/a)
9. Teacher (Maestro/a)
10. Professional (Profesional)
11. Other _____

_____

Column 16

IX. How many children do you have?
¿Cuántos hijos e hijas hay en su familia?

1. 1 - 2
2. 3 - 4
3. 5 - 6
4. 7 - 8 or more

Column 17

X. What was the total combined income of your family in 1979?
¿Cuánto dinero ganó toda su familia en 1979?

1. Less than $4,000
2. $4,000 -- $5,999
3. $6,000 -- $7,999
4. $10,000 -- $14,999
5. $15,000 -- $19,000
6. $20,000 or more
7. I don't know (No se)

Column 18

XI. Generation of residence in the United State?
¿A qué generación pertenece usted?

1. First generation (Respondent, father and grandfather foreign born)
   Primera generación (El que contesta, su padre y su abuelo nacieron en el extranjero).
2. Second generation (Respondent native born; father foreign born)
   Segunda generación (El que contesta nació en USA y su padre en el extranjero).
3. Third generation (Respondent and father native born; grandfather foreign born)
   Tercera generación (El que contesta y su padre nacieron en USA, el abuelo en el extranjero).
4. Fourth generation (Respondent, father and grandfather native born)
   Cuarta generación (El que contesta, su padre y su abuelo nacieron en USA).

Column 19

XII. What was the first language in which you understood conversation?
¿Cuál fue el primer idioma que usted entendió?

1. Spanish
2. Both (los dos)
3. English

Column 20

XIII. What was the first language you spoke?
¿Cuál fue el primer idioma que usted habló?
1. Spanish 2. Both (los dos) 3. English

Column 21

XIV. What was the first language in which you read books and magazines?
¿En qué idioma leyó libros y revistas por primera vez?
1. Spanish 2. Both (los dos) 3. English

Column 22

XV. What was the language in which you first wrote letters?
¿En qué idioma escribió cartas por primera vez?
1. Spanish 2. Both (los dos) 3. English

Column 23

XVI. Which language do you feel most fluent in?
¿Cuál es el idioma que usted cree saber más?
1. Spanish 2. Both (los dos) 3. English

Column 24

XVII. Which language is the most beautiful?
¿Cuál idioma es el más bonito?
1. Spanish 2. Both (los dos) 3. English

Column 25

XVIII. Which language is the most advantageous to know in the United States?
¿Con cuál idioma se defiende usted mejor viviendo en los Estados Unidos?
1. Spanish 2. Both (los dos) 3. English

Column 26

XIX. Which language is the most advantageous to know in bilingual neighborhoods?
¿Con cuál idioma se defiende usted mejor en el barrio donde vive?
1. Spanish 2. Both (los dos) 3. English

Column 27

XX. With which language is it easier to get a job?
¿Con cuál idioma es más fácil hallar trabajo?
1. Spanish 2. Both (los dos) 3. English

Column 28

XXI. Which language would you prefer to use all the time, if you could?
Si usted pudiera, ¿cuál idioma usaría todo el tiempo?

1. Spanish 2. Both (los dos) 3. English

Column 29

XXII. Do you think your generation and the younger generation are in general moving away from the use of Spanish?
¿Cree usted que su generación y la generación más joven están dejando de usar el español?

XXIII. What percentage of Spanish or English do you use in each of the following situations? (Circle one).
¿Qué porcentaje de español e inglés usa usted en cada una de las siguientes situaciones? (Marque una).

	All Spanish (Sólo Español)	Mostly Spanish (Generalmente español)	½ Spanish/½ English La mitad del tiempo español, la otra mitad inglés.	Mostly English Generalmente inglés	All English Sólo Inglés	Not applicable No corresponde
Column 30						
1. At home speaking to your children. Usted hablando con sus niños en la casa.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 31						
2. At home, children speaking to you. Los niños hablándole a usted en la casa.	1	2	3	4	5	0

		All Spanish (Sólo Español)	Mostly Spanish Generalmente español	½ Spanish/½ English La mitad del tiempo español, la otra mitad inglés.	Mostly English Generalmente inglés	All English Sólo inglés	Not applicable No corresponde
Column 32							
3.	At home, speaking to your parents. Usted hablándole a sus padres en la casa.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 33							
4.	At home, speaking to you. Sus padres hablándole a usted en la casa.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 34							
5.	In your neighborhood and among your neighbors. Usted en su barrio, y con sus vecinos.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 35							
6.	When you are shopping at the neighborhood stores. Cuando va a comprar en el barrio.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 36							
7.	At home, speaking to your husband/wife. Usted hablando con su esposo/esposa.	1	2	3	4	5	0

		All Spanish (Sólo Español)	Mostly Spanish Generalmente español	½ Spanish/½ English La mitad del tiempo español, la otra mitad inglés.	Mostly English Generalmente inglés	All English Sólo Inglés	Not applicable No corresponde
Column 37							
8.	At home, speaking to your friends. Usted hablando con sus amigos en la casa.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 38							
9.	At work, talking to your supervisors. Usted hablando con su supervisor en el trabajo.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 39							
10.	At work, talking to your fellow employees. Usted con sus compañeros de trabajo en el trabajo.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 40							
11.	When you go to Church. Usted en la iglesia.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 41							
12.	When you pray. Cuando usted reza.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 42							
13.	When you dream. Cuando usted sueña.	1	2	3	4	5	0

		All Spanish (Sólo Español)	Mostly Spanish Generalmente español	½ Spanish/½ English La mitad del tiempo español, la otra mitad ingles.	Mostly English Generalmente inglés	All English Sólo inglés	Not applicable No corresponde
Column 43							
14.	When you listen to the radio. Cuando usted oye el radio.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 44							
15.	When you watch T.V. Cuando usted mira T.V.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 45							
16.	When you go to the movies. Cuando usted va a las películas.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 46							
17.	When you read newspapers. Cuando usted lee el periódico.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 47							
18.	When you read books. Cuando usted lee libros.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Column 48							
19.	When you read magazines. Cuando usted lee revistas.	1	2	3	4	5	0

XXIV. State your language proficiency according to the following scale: (Put the apprpriate number 1 - 5 in each box)

Diga cuál es su conocimiento de los dos idiomas de acuerdo a la siguiente escala. (Ponga el número apropiado del 1 al 5 en cada cuadro).

	Speak Hablar	Understand Entender	Read Leer	Write Escribir
English	C. 49	C. 50	C. 51	C. 52
Spanish	C. 53	C. 54	C. 55	C. 56

1. Nada (none)
2. Muy poco (very little)
3. Aceptable (Acceptable)
4. Bien (Good)
5. Nativo (Native)

XXV. Which of the following kinds of Spanish can you handle? (One or more)

¿Qué clases de español sabe usar usted?

Column 57

1. Formal, educated style (Estilo formal, educado)

Column 58

2. Informal, everyday style (Estilo informal, de todos los días)

Column 59

3. Spanish mixed with English (Español mezlado con inglés)

XXVI. Which of the following kinds of English can you handle? (One or more.)

¿Qué clases de inglés sabe usar usted?

Column 60

1. Formal, educated style (Estilo formal, educado)

Column 61

2. Informal, everyday style (Estilo informal, de todos los días)

Column 62

3. English mixed with Spanish (Inglés mezclado con español)

XXVII. How would you describe the type of Spanish most frequently used in Waukegan? (One or more)

¿Qué clase de español se habla en Waukegan?

Column 63

1. Formal, educated style (Estilo formal, educado)

Column 64

2. Informal, everyday style (Estilo informal, de todos los días)

Column 65

3. Spanish mixed with English (Español mezclado con inglés)

XXVIII. Do you think that Spanish should be used in school?

¿Se debe usar el español en la escuela?

Column 66

1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (No sé)

XXIX. Should teachers be allowed to mix both languages in class?

¿Se les debe permitir a los maestros que mezclen las dos lenguas en la clase?

Column 67

1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (No sé)

XXX. Do you think that children should be allowed to mix both languages in class?

¿Se les debe permitir a los niños que mezclen las dos lenguas en la clase?

Column 68

1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (No sé)

XXXI. Should spanish be taught as a separate subject in the curriculum?
¿Debería enseñarse el español como materia en los programas de la escuela?

Column 69

1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (No sé)

XXXII. Up to what grade should Spanish as a separate subject be taught in school?
¿Hasta qué grado se debería enseñar el español como materia?

Column 70

1. K - 1
2. 1 - 3
3. 4 - 6
4. K - 6
5. All the way to grade 12
   Hasta el grado 12

XXXIII. What kind of Spanish should be taught in the elementary school?
¿Qué clase de español se debería enseñar en la escuela elemental?

Column 71

1. Formal
2. Informal
3. Spanish mixed with English
   (Español mezclado con inglés)
4. All of the above
5. 1 and 2
6. 1 and 3
7. 2 and 3

XXXIV. Do you think that the Spanish used in school should be the same which is spoken at home by the child?
¿Cree usted que el español que se usa en la escuela debe ser el mismo que el niño usa en la casa?

Column 72

1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (No sé)

XXXV. Do you think that speaking a more formal type of Spanish will help a person to succeed in life more than speaking informal Spanish or mixing the two languages?
¿Cree usted que a los que hablan español más formal les va mejor en la vida que a los que hablan español informal o mezclan el español con el inglés.

Column 73

1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know (No sé)

XXXVI. Some people believe that if children are taught in Spanish, they will fall behind in English? What is your opinion?
Algunas personas creen que si les enseñan en español a los niños, ellos se van a atrasar con el inglés. ¿Cuál es su opinión?

Column 74

1. Yes, they will fall behind in English.
   (Sí, se van a atrasar con el inglés.
2. They won't learn either language well.
   (No van a aprender ninguna lengua bien.)
3. They can learn both languages at the same time.
   (Pueden aprender las dos lenguas al mismo tiempo.)
4. Other._____
   (Otra respuesta) _____
5. Can learn both at the same time -- but neither well.
   (Pueden aprender las dos al mismo tiempo, pero ninguna bien.)

XXXVII. What is Bilingual Education (for you)?
¿Qué significa para usted la Educación Bilingüe?

Column 75 - 76

_____
_____
_____
_____

XXXVIII. Why do you want your child to receive a Bilingual Education?
¿Por qué quiere usted que su hijo/a esté en el Programa Bilingüe?

Column 77 - 78

_____
_____
_____
_____

Code System for Questions

01 Learn L 1, keep L 1
02 Learn L 2
03 Learn to speak better for self-improvement
04 Learn Spanish
05 Learning in spite of language
06 Keep Spanish
07 Learn the two languages and cultures
08 Self respect, better self-concept
09 Learn and respect heritage
10 Necesario -- good
11 Care for education of L2 students
12 Keep heritage
13 Don't know
14 Not applicable (blank)
15 Refuse to answer

Table 4

Number and Percentage of Questions Asked Per Child

SPANISH

Level	5		5		5		3		1-2		1		Total Number of Questions Used by All Children	
Child	Paula		Juanita		César		José		Ana		Carmen			
	Total Use: 3		Total Use: 40		Total Use: 35		Total Use: 28		Total Use: 0		Total Use: 0			
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%
Req. Info.	3	100	23	57.5	17	48.6	10	35.8	--	--	--	--	53	50
Req. Clarif.	--	--	1	2.5	--	--	4	14.2	--	--	--	--	5	4.7
Req. Permis.	--	--	1	2.5	2	5.8	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	2.8
Req. Approv.	--	--	2	5.0	1	2.8	3	10.7	--	--	--	--	6	5.7
Yes/No Ques.	--	--	11	27.5	11	31.4	3	10.7	--	--	--	--	25	23.6
Req. Action	--	--	--	--	4	11.4	3	10.7	--	--	--	--	7	6.6
Rhet. Ques.	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	3.6	--	--	--	--	1	1.0
Hesi. Ques.	--	--	2	5.0	--	--	4	14.3	--	--	--	--	6	5.6
Total	3		40		35		28		--		--			

Table 5

Number and Percentage of Questions Asked Per Child

ENGLISH

Level	5		5		5		3		2		1		Total Number of Questions Used by All Children	
Child	Paula		Ana		Carmen		José		Juanita		César			
	Total Use: 44		Total Use: 51		Total Use: 48		Total Use: 5		Total Use: 1		Total Use: 1			
Occurrences and Percent	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%
Req. Info.	21	47.7	28	55	28	5.83	1	20	1	100	--	--	79	52.7
Req. Clarif.	1	2.2	10	19.6	5	10.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	16	10.7
Req. Permis.	1	2.2	--	--	8	16.7	--	--	--	--	1	100	10	6.6
Req. Approv.	1	2.2	2	3.9	1	2.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	2.7
Yes/No Ques.	6	13.6	8	15.7	4	8.3	--	--	--	--	--	--	18	12.0
Req. Action	3	6.8	2	3.9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	3.3
Rhet. Ques.	6	13.6	1	1.9	2	4.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	9	6.0
Hesi. Ques	5	11.4	--	--	--	--	4	80	--	--	--	--	9	6.0
Total	44		51		48		5		1		1			

Parents of these children were contacted to obtain permission for their children to be video taped in different settings. Once we had their permission, we checked to see if a child for each one of the six proficiency combination levels (L1 and L2) could be found in one classroom. We were able to locate such a classroom in School C. Originally we wanted all the children to be of the same age group, sex and ethnic background (Puerto Rican, Mexican American, etc.). Since that was impossible, we chose children from the same classroom and same age group. There were four girls and two boys (3 Mexicans, 2 Puerto Rican-Mexicans and 1 Puerto Rican). The sample is described in Table 2:

Table 2
Final Sample Description

Proficiency Levels	Boy	Girl
High English - High Spanish		Mexican
High English - Low Spanish		Mexican-Puerto Rican
High English - No-Spanish		Mexican-Puerto Rican
Non-English - High Spanish	Puerto Rican	
Low English - High Spanish		Mexican
Low English - Low Spanish	Mexican	

Due to the fact that there was only one subject in the Low English-High Spanish group and one subject with Low English-Low Spanish proficiency in School C, these students had to be included in the sample. This in contrast to the selection of the other subjects where the best subject was chosen among several possibilities, not only in terms of language proficiency but personality and behavior.

total utterances is not a measure of language proficiency in Spanish and English. However, it is expected that a child who is more proficient in English will produce more utterances in English than Spanish and vice versa. In bilingual children, the language used in interactions will depend on the situation, the context, the interlocutor, etc., involved in the interaction. Utterances, at times, may be just one word while others may be very complex sentences in form and/or function and, as such, they do not reflect the same degrees of proficiency. Table 3 shows the total count of utterances representing the collected language repertoire for each child. As explained before, this is in no way a description or representation of the language proficiency of the subjects.

Table 3

Language Repertoire
Per Subject, Language and Setting

A. Per Subject and Language

Subject	Utterances			
	Total	% English	% Spanish	% Mix
Paula	874	64.5	33.5	1.0
Carmen	603	96.7	2.7	.6
Ana	536	94.5	5.4	--
José	393	18.4	80.4	1.2
Juanita	1143	13.0	84.7	2.3
César	653	16.5	83.1	.4

B. Per Language, and Setting

Subject	English			Spanish		
	Total Utterances	% Home*	% School	Total Utterances	% Home	% School
Paula	676	50.1	49.9	187	93.5	6.4
Carmen	591	54.3	45.7	120	90	10.0
Ana	468	44.4	55.6	68	17.6	82.3**
José	103	44.7	55.3	284	70.8	29.2
Juanita	167	74.3	25.7	941	86.0	14.0
César	99	76.8	23.2	527	72.7	27.3

NOTE: * Home language was collected mainly from play activities with siblings and/or friends.

** Ana's Spanish repertoire at school includes a 15 minute talk with one of the researchers. The conversation was all in Spanish and most of Ana's utterances in Spanish were one word utterances (vocabulary items).